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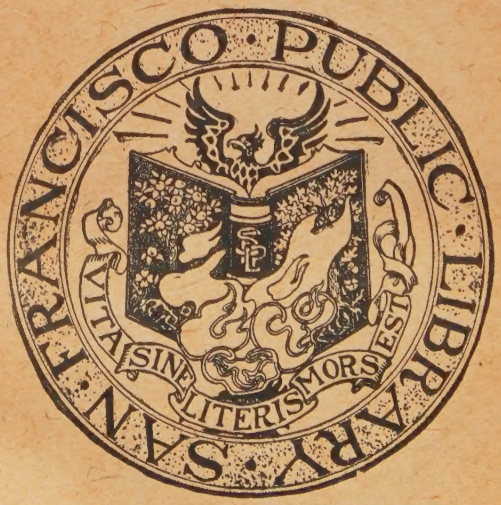

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BRITISH AMERICA;

By JOHN M'GREGOR, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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SKETCHES

OF

BRITISH AMERICA.

BOOK I.

NOVA SCOTIA.

CHAPTER I.

Boundaries—Superficies — Configuration—Natural Resources—Geological Features—Minerals—Productions—Wild Animals, &c. &c.—Natural Curiosities.

THIS province, previous to 1763, comprehended all the territories situated between the River St Croix and the Bay de Chaleur; and after the peace of that year, the islands of St John and Cape Breton were added. In 1770, the first of these islands was separated from Nova Scotia, and shortly after the treaty of 1783 it was reduced, by dividing from it New Brunswick and Cape Breton, to the peninsula, which may be termed Nova Scotia proper, lying to the south of a line drawn from the head of the Bay de Vert, a branch of the Gulf of St Lawrence, to

Cumberland Basin, an arm of the Bay of Fundy. Cape Breton was again, in 1820, reannexed.

Nova Scotia lies within the latitudes of 43° and 46° north, and the longitudes of 61° and 67° west. Its length is about 320 miles, and its average breadth about 70 miles. Its computed superficies, exclusive of Cape Breton, is 15,500 square miles; from which nearly one-third may be deducted for lakes, arms of the sea, and rivers; leaving about 7,000,000 acres of land, 5,000,000 of which may be considered adapted for cultivation, and the remainder as affording tolerable pasturage.

A great proportion of these lands, estimated at 3,500,000 acres, is still vacant, and in the hands of the crown; but the largest unoccupied tracts do not in one place exceed 40,000 acres.

As the sea-coast of Nova Scotia was that which necessarily presented itself to the first discoverers, and to those who afterwards visited the country with the view of planting or settling it; and as it must also be admitted that its aspect, particularly on the Atlantic side, is barren, rugged, and apparently incapable of cultivation, it was altogether, without due investigation, from its first discovery, till within the last eighty or ninety years, condemned by England as a country unfit for agriculture, cursed with a humid and most inclement climate, and unworthy of any consideration, except for the purpose of trading with the savages for furs.

To account for the wrong opinions which individuals at first, and even a whole nation afterwards, form of

new countries, we must conclude that they arise from ignorance, or the bias of prejudice. Hence Nova Scotia, which undoubtedly possesses many advantages paramount to those of Canada, was long considered, both by England and France, of no important value, unless it were for its harbours, which afforded shelter for their ships, and the consequent convenience for each nation to annoy the other. The mines of this colony are alone sources of great wealth; and it produces also, especially in the interior, great plenty of wood for ship-building, coopers, joiners, &c. The soil is capable of yielding more than a sufficient quantity of white and green crops for the support of the inhabitants; and although the climate in winter is colder than in England, yet when the weather is cold, it is usually dry.*

The Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, from Cape Canseau to Cape Sable, is pierced with innumerable small bays, harbours, and rivers. The shores are lined with rocks, and thousands of islands; and although no part of the country can properly be considered mountainous, and there are but few high steep cliffs, yet the aspect of the whole, if not romantically sublime, is exceedingly picturesque; and the scenery, in many places, is richly beautiful. The landscape which the head of Mahon Bay, in particular, presents, can scarcely be surpassed.

There is deep water, almost without exception, close to the rocks and islands, and into the harbours. The coasting vessels sail among, and within, the

* See the Theory of the Climate, vol. i. book ii. chap. iv.

myriads of islands that line the coast, during the most blustering weather, and have thus the advantage of passing along in smooth water while there is a heavy sea running in the main ocean. Within the Bay of Fundy, the shores have a more continuous outline; and, after passing St Mary's Bay, the rugged appearance of the coast diminishes, but it still presents a bold and generally high character as far as the Basin of Minas.

The interior of Nova Scotia is intersected and watered by numberless streams, rivers, and lakes; none of the last are large, or at least not considered so in America.

Lake Rossignol, out of which a river, named the Mersey, runs to the harbour now called Liverpool, but formerly Rossignol, is said to be thirty miles long; and Lake George approaches to the same extent.

The mountains, so called, scarcely warrant the appellation; the highest elevation in the province not being more than 700 feet above the level of the ocean. A high hill, called Ardoise Mountain, lying between Halifax and Windsor, is considered the most elevated land in Nova Scotia, and commands a more extensively beautiful and picturesque prospect of land and water than any part of America that I have seen, except the heights of Cape Diamond, above Quebec. There is also a range of high hills between Annapolis Basin and Argyll; and a mountainous or hilly ridge extends on each side of Annapolis River, running parallel with the Bay of Fundy to Cape Blomidon. These

eminences, with Horton Mountain, Aspotogan, Cape Porcupine, Mount Tom, and Cobequid Mountains, may be considered the only high lands of consequence in Nova Scotia.

The geological features of this province are prominent ; and a greater variety of rocks present themselves, particularly along the Atlantic shores, than I have observed in any other part of North America. Granite, trap, and clay-slate, predominate, not only as primitive, but as the prevailing rocks, along the whole of the coast of Nova Scotia, and several miles into the country, extending from the Gut of Canseau to Cape Sable, and from thence to Brier Island. Quartz, usually in veins with clay-slate ; mica-slate, sienite, and gneiss, but always detached, occur also in this extensive district. Greywacke is the most prevailing kind of transition rock. Whether all the gypsum strata, and calcarious rocks, belong to the flœtz class, I have not been able to ascertain. The vast gypsum strata within the Bay of Fundy, at the Gut of Canseau, and at Antigonish, evidently belong to the latter. Granite and trap rocks appear at Cobequid Mountains, and occur probably in all the hilly parts of Nova Scotia ; but so small a portion of the interior has been examined, and so little is known respecting its geology, except where roads cross the country, that it would be presumptuous to state even what appearances indicate.

Granite, and calcarious rocks, with grey and red sandstone, prevail in the northern parts of Nova Scotia, from the Gut of Canseau to the Bay de Vert ;

and extend across the province to the Basin of Minas, if not interrupted by a granite ridge, which may very probably occur in the Mount Tom range of high lands. The hard grey, or blueish sandstone, which occurs in various parts of the province, makes excellent grindstones. The light grey granite, quarried at Whitehead, near Cape Canseau, makes remarkably good millstones; and a beautiful freestone, most admirably adapted for building, is abundant in several places, but particularly at Port Wallace.

Among the minerals of this province, coal and iron certainly claim the first attention. As to the extent of the coal-fields, or what may be considered independent coal-fields, any opinion on the subject would be incorrect; and it may be sufficient to observe, that enough has been discovered for the consumption of America for centuries. Iron of excellent quality abounds in great plenty, in different parts of the province, generally accompanying vast strata of coal and chains of carboniferous limestone. A most extensive coal-field has been opened at Pictou.* It is accompanied with vast strata of iron-stone. Coal abounds also at Chignecto, and many other parts of the provinces. Different varieties of copper ore, but not in great plenty, is met with at Carriboo, Tatmagouche, and some other places. Lead ores, chiefly sulphuret

* A particular account of the mines opened near Pictou, and of the spirited operations of the Albion Mining Company, will be found in a following chapter, with a description of the several minerals which were brought from those mines by the author, and examined by Professor Jameson.

of lead and carbonate of lead, are also found in small quantities. Salt springs are met with near Pictou, at River Philip, and in some other parts; one of which is saturated with salt in the proportion of 12 to 88 water.*

The gradual improvements and opening of the country, and the enterprise of companies and individuals, will likely be the means of discovering many other minerals; and the mines in Nova Scotia will, in all probability, become sources of immense wealth.

The soil of Nova Scotia is of many different qualities, and of various degrees of fertility. The alluvial, or *intervale* lands, of which there are extensive tracts, are rich, and produce plentiful returns of wheat, barley, oats, Indian corn, potatoes, turnips, and all vegetables and fruits common in England. Apples, equal to any grown in the United States, are produced in many parts of the province; and vines, covering several acres, have been lately discovered growing wild, or indigenous, near Digby. Some of the uplands, lying between the hilly ground and the *intervales*, or rivers, are light and poor, while the high, or what the inhabitants call the mountain lands, are rich, and very productive. This circumstance appears somewhat unaccountable; and the cause assigned is, that the light sand, or other substances, which naturally impart little nutrition to vegetables, having been carried, at various periods, by the rains down from the hills, have left behind a rich loamy earth;

* Note A.

and that the poor uplands, or rather midlands, which prevail below the hills, and which have been formed of those sandy and light deposits, being very deep and loose, therefore retain neither rich earth or manures near the surface, and are consequently sterile and unproductive.*

The lands on the southern coast are generally so rocky, as to admit of cultivation only at much expense and labour. After the rocks and stones are removed, the soil is by no means barren ; and some remarkably fine tracts are met with at the heads of the bays and up the rivers. The lands, however, within the Bay of Fundy, and those lying between the Gut of Canseau and Bay de Vert, form fertile agricultural districts.

The forest trees of this province are of the same kind and quality as those already described under the general head of American trees ; nearly all of which abound in Nova Scotia.

The wild animals are the moose, carriboo, bear, loup-cervier, tiger-cat, fox, marten, otter, mink, beaver, musk-rat, porcupine, racoon, wood-chuck, fisher, weasel, squirrel, hare, &c., all of which, excepting the two last, have decreased very rapidly in their numbers.

Nearly all the birds common to North America, frequent Nova Scotia ; and there are but very few

* Replies to the above purport have frequently been made to me, particularly at Truro, on remarking these seeming contradictions of character in the soil of the neighbouring lands.

kinds of fish which are found in the American seas, that do not swarm round the shores of this colony.

Among the natural curiosities of this country, there is, within three or four miles of Halifax, a rocking granite stone, about seventy-five feet in circumference, and supposed to weigh 164 tons. It rests so equally on a flinty base of twelve inches, that the strength of one hand will put it in motion. It stands near the margin of a small, deep, dark, but placid lake, which is surrounded with wood ; and to which imagination has imparted additional gloom, from the legend of two men having chosen a lamentable termination to their earthly pains and pleasures in its depths. From this circumstance, its name of Withrod Lake, has been changed to that of "The Devil's Bowl."

At a brook near Pictou, there is a curious grotto named "Peter Frazer's Cave." It is formed of calcarious rocks. The possessor, who lives in it during summer, has laid a wooden floor over its bottom, hung a door at the entrance, cut two lateral holes through the sides to admit light, and two through the roof to allow the smoke of his fire to escape. It is about 100 feet long, and irregular in its width. Beautiful stalactites suspend from the roof, and a small stream of pure sweet water flows along its base.

On the coast of the Bay of Fundy, at St Peter's Point, there is another magnificent grotto. On passing through its entrance, which is from the sea, and very narrow, we are suddenly introduced into a spacious hall, the roof of which is hung with sta-

lactites; and brilliant gems are observed sparkling at the moment the light of torch or candle appears.*

Beneath a steep cliff near Lunenburg, are three very remarkable caverns, with great gaping mouths, and named "The Three Ovens."

* Having never seen the cave at St Peter's Point myself, I have noticed it from a description given me by an intelligent gentleman, residing in Annapolis county.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Discovery—Cabot—Sir Humphrey Gilbert—De Monts—Port Royal—Potrincourt—Pontgrave—Champlain—Lescarbot—River St John—Settlement of Port Royal—Jesuit Missionaries—Mount Desert Island—Demolition of Port Royal, &c.

NOVA SCOTIA was first discovered in 1497, by John Cabot, or his son Sebastian, under a commission from Henry VII., some time before Columbus actually discovered the main continent of America. With the exception of adventurers trading to Newfoundland, England neglected the discoveries of Cabot until 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert, on making a second voyage to Newfoundland, where he left a small colony, made the attempt to reach the continent which ended so unfortunately, as before related, in his perishing with his whole ship's crew at sea. His brother, Sir John, revived his claim in 1607, and proceeded to America, where he died the following winter, on an island at the mouth of the Kennebec. His followers, after having endured extreme misery, returned in the spring to England.

The discovery by Cabot, and the possession taken of Newfoundland by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and afterwards of the continent by his brother Sir John, form

the foundation of right by which England claimed Nova Scotia and the adjacent countries. The spirit of colonizing it, however, seems to have languished on the part of the English. It was otherwise with France. Mons. De Monts, a French Protestant, and a gentleman of enterprising, resolute spirit, obtained a commission, in 1603, from Henry IV., constituting him governor of all the countries of America, from 40° to 46° north, under the name of New France, which included Nova Scotia, then and long after called Acadia. Several French adventurers having previously visited Acadia and Canada, the vast profits they realized, by bartering European commodities for furs, created at that time an extraordinary spirit of enterprise among the French merchants; and as De Monts had, by his charter, secured a monopoly of the fur trade, a great number of wealthy men readily associated themselves with him. They soon equipped and fitted out four ships, loaded with all necessary stores and suitable goods, and in March 1604, they sailed from Havre; De Monts having the chief command, accompanied by Champlain, the celebrated navigator of the St Lawrence, as pilot, and M. Potrincourt, and M. Champdore, with numerous volunteer adventurers. De Monts arrived, on the 15th of May, at the harbour in Nova Scotia which now bears the name of Liverpool, where he found a French adventurer, named Rossignol, trading without commission for furs with the Indians. He confiscated this man's property, naming the harbour Port Rossignol, as if to console him for the loss of

his wealth by this mark of honour. From this place, De Monts coasted westward to Port Mouton, where he landed, and formed an encampment.

The vessels under De Monts having different destinations, the one which carried the principal supplies for the winter, and which had been ordered to proceed direct to Canseau, there to wait his arrival, was long missing, in consequence of the delays occasioned by the capturing of four French vessels engaged in trading without license with the savages.

De Monts soon after dispatched this ship to Tadvusac, a spacious harbour on the north side of the St Lawrence, at the *débouché* of the river Saghunny. The other two vessels were ordered to cruise along the shores of Cape Breton and the island of St John, and off the coast of Acadia, within the Gulf of St Lawrence, in order to prevent unauthorized adventurers from trading with the natives.

De Monts, in the ship immediately under his command, then proceeded westerly, and sailed into St Mary's Bay, where he discovered iron ore.* He traversed the coasts of the Bay of Fundy, which he named Le Bai Françoise ; and, by the narrow strait now called Digby Gut, on the east side, entered a beautiful and extensive basin ; with which, and the surrounding prairies and luxuriant woods, Potrincourt

* At this place, a priest named Daubré, having forgot his sword at a spring of water in the woods, returned for it, and lost his way ; and the ship, after waiting for him several days, left the Bay without him. On returning to the Bay several weeks afterwards, they found him nearly incapable of any exertion.

was so much charmed, as to select it for his place of settlement. He accordingly received a grant of it from De Monts, named it Port Royal, and soon after returned to France, for the purpose of carrying out his family and the means of establishing himself in Acadia.

De Monts meantime discovered, on the festival of St John, a large river, which he named after that saint. He afterwards sailed southward, until he came to the river now called St Croix. On a small island at the entrance of this river, they commenced forming a settlement, by clearing some acres of the trees, building a magazine, a place of worship, several houses, and erecting a fort and battery. This place had, however, scarcely any advantage to recomenmd it, except its being easily defended. It was most improvidently chosen, as it afforded neither fresh water, nor proper fuel for winter; nor was it the haunt of game. Out of the whole number, seventy-six, which formed De Monts' colony, thirty-seven were carried off by scurvy, produced by living on salt meat, and by having no water but what was procured from melting snow.

When the spring broke up, De Monts, after examining the coast as far as Cape Cod, in search of a more fit place for settlement, resolved on abandoning St Croix, and removing altogether, along with Pontgrave, who had then arrived with supplies from Europe, to Port Royal. In this place they soon established themselves; and, with the usual success of the French in negotiating with the savages, secu-

red the friendship of the Indians. De Monts sailed for France in autumn, leaving Pontgrave, Champdore, and Champlain, in command of the colony.

In May following, De Monts and Potrincourt sailed from France; and, after a tedious passage, reached Canseau, from whence he dispatched a party of Indians to communicate his arrival to the settlers at Port Royal.

Pontgrave had previously attempted to explore the coast south of Cape Cod, agreeably to the instructions of De Monts, but was driven back, and shipwrecked near the entrance of Port Royal. In consequence of this disaster, he built two small vessels; and, putting all he could on board of them, and leaving two volunteers in charge of the remaining stores, he then proceeded to Canseau, before the arrival of the messengers from De Monts; but returned on meeting with a boat's crew which De Monts had left at that place.

It was considered that, notwithstanding the energy of De Monts, the settlements at Port Royal would have been unsuccessful, were it not for measures pointed out by Lescarbot, a gentleman bred to the law, but who, from personal attachment, accompanied Potrincourt. He showed the urgent necessity of importing and breeding domestic cattle, and of cultivating the soil, in order to become independent of the Indians for food, or of receiving supplies of provisions from Europe. The settlers would then, he contended, be more secure in trading with the natives, by living

more compactly, and not subjected to chance for the means of procuring food.

De Monts left Acadia for France in August 1606. Still anxious to establish a colony farther south, he dispatched Potrincourt in another vessel to explore the country to the southward of Cape Cod; but this, like his former voyage, was quite unsuccessful; and he returned to Port Royal in November, where he was received with great joy, friendship, and respect, by Pontgrave, Lescarbot, and Champlain.

The winter being remarkably mild, and the spring early, these respectable adventurers appear, from Lescarbot's account, to have passed their time most agreeably and sociably. At their principal mess-table, Pontgrave, Champlain, Lescarbot, and twelve others, dined, taking upon them the offices of president and caterer in daily rotation. They diverted themselves in making short hunting excursions, and in employing their people in building two small shallops, and in erecting a mill. After waiting, however, a long time for the arrival of De Monts with supplies from France, a vessel at last appeared from Canseau, bringing only a few provisions and stores, and the mortifying information that the charter of De Monts was revoked, in consequence of the remonstrances made against it by the French merchants; and that he was therefore under the necessity of relinquishing all connexion with Acadia.*

* About this time, several Dutch adventurers frequented the coast, and to such extremes did their avarice lead them, that they pillaged the very graves, in order to obtain the beaver skins of

The high-minded Potrincourt, distressed, but not disheartened, at this intelligence, received at a time when the colony was so far established, that nothing but a substantial right to the soil, and some further assistance in the way of supplies, were necessary to ensure its prosperity and permanency, resolved to return to France, for the purpose, if possible, of obtaining both. He did not leave, however, until he was enabled to carry with him samples of wheat, and other agricultural produce, some native animals, and several specimens of minerals, which, on his arrival in France, he presented to the king.

He succeeded in obtaining a grant of Port Royal, saddled, however, with a stipulation to provide for two Jesuits, who were to accompany him for the conversion of the savages. This condition was exceedingly disagreeable to such a spirit as that of Potrincourt ; and soon after his arrival at Port Royal, he did not scruple to let them know his determination to exclude them from all interference with his affairs. He justly told them, " that their duty was limited to teaching men the way to Heaven, and that it remained for him to govern and direct those under him on earth."

The residence of these bigoted priests at Port Royal would have been of little importance, were it not for the attendant sequel.

Potrincourt, who unwisely, though honestly, de-

which the Indians made the shrouds of their dead. Nothing could have exasperated the savages more, and they ever afterwards held the Dutch in execration.

spised them, made their situation far from being agreeable to their ideas; and their repeated complaints against him, and his son Biencourt, were apparently terminated by the arrival of a vessel, dispatched in 1613 by their patroness, a pious lady of the name of De Gaucherville. This ship, having on board two priests and some emigrants, carried away the two Jesuits from Port Royal; and, sailing out of the Bay of Fundy, they fixed on the Island of Mount Desert, lying a few miles north of Penobscot Bay, as a proper situation for a settlement. Here they commenced by erecting a cross, setting up the arms of their lady patroness, and naming the place St Saviour's.

While proceeding rapidly with their buildings and improvements, they were surprised by an English ship of war from Virginia, commanded by a Captain Argall, who pillaged the place, and compelled them to surrender as prisoners of war, for having encroached upon, and settled within, English limits. One of the Jesuits was shot through the head while urging the settlers to defend themselves; two ships that lay at anchor were seized, in one of which most of the prisoners were sent to France; the others were carried to Virginia.

This affair led to the fitting out of an armament from Virginia, commanded by Argall, for the purpose of dislodging the French settled in Acadia. Argall, piloted by the Jesuit Beart, who thirsted for revenge, proceeded to Port Royal, now commanded by Biencourt, the son of Potrincourt, and destroyed the fort, but spared the mills and corn-fields. Bien-

court attempted to treat with him, offering Argall an equal share in the trade, if he could obtain the protection of England, and the person of the hated Jesuit; but the conference ended by some of the French associating themselves with the savages, others leaving for Quebec to join Champlain, and by those who surrendered being sent to England.*

This outrageous affair, during a time of profound peace between England and France, cannot be defended on the slightest ground of justice; and it may be safely assigned, principally to the thirst for plunder, and partly to religious bigotry. By this unwarrantable waste, robbery, and violation of private property, to which force alone gave authority, the first settlement made in North America was destroyed in 1613 or 1615, after prospering for eight or ten years, and without experiencing a share of that ferocious opposition from the savages which proved so dreadfully fatal to the early attempts of England at colonisation.

* Charleroix.—Lescarbot.

CHAPTER III.

England attempts planting Nova Scotia—Sir William Alexander—Baronets of Nova Scotia—Sir David Kirk—Claude de la Tour—Country ceded to France—Madame de la Tour—Acadia taken by Oliver Cromwell—Ceded again to France.

ALTHOUGH the French settlements in Acadia were destroyed, it was neglected by England until 1621, when Sir William Alexander obtained a grant of the whole territory called Acadia from James I., and the name of the country was changed to that of Nova Scotia. Sir William was an accomplished gentleman, of high literary attainments, the author of several tragedies, and much about the court of James I., who afterwards appointed him a secretary of state, and created him a baron, with the title of Viscount Stirling.

During the summer which followed the date of his patent, Sir William Alexander dispatched a vessel with a small colony for Nova Scotia, which, owing to delay and a long passage, had to winter at Newfoundland. This ship proceeded on her voyage in the spring, visited a few harbours in Nova Scotia, and then returned to England, without any attempt being made to establish a settlement. A most Utopian account of the country and climate was published

from the descriptions of those who performed this voyage.

From the time Port Royal was destroyed, up to this period, (1623,) great numbers of French, and several Dutch adventurers, resorted to the province, and occupied different parts of the country, where they carried on a profitable fur trade, as well as a fishery at Canseau, and in some other harbours. The war with France, however, which commenced in the early part of the reign of our Charles I., completely crushed the French plantations in Acadia; and that monarch not only confirmed the grant to Sir William Alexander, but completed what James had intended, namely, the instituting of the order of Baronets of Nova Scotia. The institution of this order was ratified by parliament, and the number limited to one hundred and fifty; certain stipulations, contained in the grants of land attached to these titles, were at first required to be fulfilled before they were confirmed by the king. At present the title of baronet of Nova Scotia is conferred, without regard to number, according to his majesty's pleasure, and with all the privileges and rank of baronets of Scotland.

In 1627, Sir William Alexander, assisted by a French Calvinist of the name of Kirckt, who fled to England from Dieppe in France, on the score of religious persecution, fitted out a few vessels, well armed, for Nova Scotia.

This squadron, commanded by Kirckt, who was also made a baronet, under the title of Sir David Kirk, proceeded on the voyage, and fell in with a

fleet of French transports laden with stores, and one hundred and thirty-five pieces of ordnance, intended for Quebec and Port Royal. These vessels they captured, and in the following year reduced Port Royal. No settlement, however, was made at this period; and two years after, Sir William Alexander, discouraged at the failure of his attempts to colonise Nova Scotia, transferred the whole, except Port Royal, to Claude de la Tour, a French protestant, who was on board the transports captured by Sir David Kirk.

This gentleman possessed wealth, spirit, and an enterprising mind; and while residing, after his capture, in England, he married a lady of the queen's household, and was knighted. He proceeded to Nova Scotia, where he had a son, Etienne de la Tour, still at Cape Sable, and commanding a fort on the part of France. No entreaty which his father could use would induce him to submit to the power of England, and in consequence Sir Claude was unsuccessful in forming a settlement.

The inconsiderate treaty of St Germain, in 1632, gave Nova Scotia, with Cape Breton and Canada, again to France; and a long train of unfortunate and vexatious circumstances attended our American colonies in consequence.

Canada, Acadia, Cape Breton, and St John's Island, were then placed under the worst of all governments; namely, that of a company of merchants. These were embodied by royal charter, and styled "The Company of New France;" under whose vassalage

Acadia was now governed by M. Razillais. The lands of the colony were divided principally between the governor, whose share fell to his successor Daubrè Charnisè Mon Denys, and Etienne de la Tour. The jealousies of Charnisè and La Tour, arising principally from rivalship in the fur trade, partook for many years of a similar spirit to that which directed the predatory warfare of feudal chieftains; and Mon Denys, who occupied the country from Cape Canseau to Gaspé, and who built a fort, and resided at Chedebucto, where he carried on a profitable fur trade, was finally ruined by the intrigues of his countrymen, and driven from this country.*

De la Tour's principal establishment was on the river St John. His wife appears, from the records of that period, to have been a most extraordinary woman, possessing fortitude and courage seldom surpassed even by the heroines of romance.

Madame de la Tour, having had occasion to visit England on the affairs of her husband, engaged on her return with the master of a vessel to land her at the river St John; who, instead of doing so, proceeded to Cape Breton, and the countries within the Gulf of St Lawrence, where he continued during the summer, trading with the savages, and afterwards sailed for Boston. Madame de la Tour was detained during this period on board the ship of this European savage, suffering all the miseries of a protracted voyage, and the most painful uneasiness of mind. On

* Note B.

landing at Boston, she commenced an action against the villainous captain, and recovered about L.2000 damages. She then proceeded to the fort at the River St John, where, during the absence of her husband, she was besieged by Charnisè, whom she beat off with extraordinary heroism, by disabling his ship, and killing and wounding several of his men. Some time after, the brutal Charnisè, taking again the advantage of La Tour's absence, attacked his fort, and Madame de la Tour, with astonishing bravery, commanded its defence; but at length, in order to save the lives of her few remaining men, she accepted the terms of capitulation proposed by Charnisè.

On entering the fort, this horrible tyrant, enraged at having been once so gallantly repulsed, and a second time so courageously resisted by a female, hanged all the prisoners except one, whom he compelled to execute the rest. He then led Madame de la Tour with a halter round her neck to a tree; and, after exposing her for some time, either hung her, or the effects of the indignant treatment she had received, and grief for the fate of her brave and faithful people, caused her death in a few days.

Charnisè then destroyed the fort, and carried the ordnance, and all La Tour's effects, to Penobscot, to which place he had removed from La Have.

La Tour's own character, however, was none of the fairest; and the records of Massachusetts Bay charge him with disgraceful and ungrateful conduct. He afterwards went to Canada and Hudson's Bay, where he was connected with the fur trade; but

returned on the death of Charnisè, whose widow he married ; and by the death of a pious lady of St Omers, a sister of Charnisè, he became possessed of all his property in Nova Scotia.

La Tour remained in peaceable possession until 1654, when an armament, dispatched by Oliver Cromwell, conquered the province. Disgusted with his own countrymen, who were about to dislodge him by intrigue and force, when Acadia submitted to the arms of England, La Tour transferred his allegiance ; and two years after, he obtained a grant of his lands from the Protector. He afterwards sold his lands and property in Nova Scotia to Sir Thomas Temple, who, after spending large sums in forming establishments, and after securing a profitable share in the fur trade, was most unjustly deprived of the whole by the treaty of Breda, which ceded the province again to France.

An armament, sent in 1690 from Massachusetts, under the command of Sir William Phipps, retook Port Royal, levelled its fortifications, and burnt the establishments at Chedebucto. The object of this expedition appears to have been more to annoy the French than to possess the country. It was, however, considered as a conquered province, and added by a new charter to the government of Massachusetts. Some aggressions on the part of France, who still occupied her usual places of resort for the fur trade, and the demolition, by Villibon, the French governor, and the Baron Castine, reinforced by two ships of war, of the English fort at Pemiquid, were resented

by an expedition under the command of Colonel Church. He sailed up the Bay of Fundy, drove most of the Acadians to the woods; and, on the refusal of those who surrendered to join the English in pursuit of the Indians, he burnt their church and all their houses, destroyed their cattle, and demolished the dikes which guarded their rich marshes from the sea.

In 1696, the treaty of Ryswick gave Nova Scotia again to France; and that government soon after entered with spirit and resolution into measures for colonizing the province, and securing its fur trade, and especially the fisheries. The latter, in which the English had for some time participated largely, became the fertile cause of dispute between the New England colonists and the French in Nova Scotia. The French government also encouraged the pirates who infested the coasts to commit depredations on the shores of Massachusetts, and on the English fishing vessels, by offering them an asylum, and the means of disposing of their plunder, at La Have.

The people of New England retaliated, in 1704, by dispatching Colonel Church a second time, with about six hundred troops, to pillage the French settlements in Nova Scotia. He proceeded to Passamaquody, where he burnt all the houses, and seized the property of the inhabitants.

He then crossed the bay to Port Royal, and sent the boats with a detachment to Minas, where they plundered and destroyed three flourishing villages. On their return to Port Royal, Church discovered

that the fortresses built since he destroyed the place eight years before, were too strong to be taken by the force under his command. He therefore sailed to Chignecto, where he laid waste all the settlements, and carried the plunder to Massachusetts. The New England States, still unwilling to relinquish the conquest of Nova Scotia, raised a thousand troops, who were dispatched, in 1707, with two ships of war, to take Port Royal; but they were repulsed with great gallantry by M. Subercuse, who succeeded Brouillard. The same force was soon after sent again from New England to Port Royal, but they returned a second time equally unsuccessful.

The conquest of Port Royal was, however, determined upon, and in 1710, an armament, commanded by General Nicholson, an able and brave officer, consisting of four men-of-war, nineteen transports, with one regiment of marines, and four provincial regiments, appeared before Port Royal. With the exception of those on board of one vessel that was wrecked, the troops landed without difficulty. Batteries were immediately erected by the English; and after a heavy cannonading on both sides, the garrison capitulated. The conditions were most honourable both to General Nicholson and the gallant Subercuse.

CHAPTER IV.

Treaty of Utrecht finally secures Nova Scotia to England—Port Royal named Annapolis, in honour of Queen Anne—French Acadians—Barbarities of the Savages—Grand attempt of France to recover Louisburg and Acadia—Splendid Expedition commanded by the Duke D'Ainville, and disastrous Sequel—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

FRANCE still seemed anxiously disposed to regain possession of Nova Scotia, but the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, secured the province to England, from which time the country has not been subject to any other government; and there is not any of his Majesty's colonies, unless it be Newfoundland, so likely to remain firm in its allegiance to Great Britain.

The name of Port Royal was now changed, in honour of Queen Anne, to Annapolis; the fortifications were repaired and strengthened; and General Nicholson appointed as the first resident British governor. He arrived at Annapolis in 1714, but could not succeed in obtaining the allegiance of the French settlers, who, by the capitulation of Port Royal, were allowed two years to retire, with their effects, from the province. In 1719, Colonel Phillips arrived, and succeeded Governor Nicholson; and, by the royal instructions, established a council to assist him in managing the civil affairs of the colony. The pro-

vince, at this period, was resorted to only by trading adventurers, and there were no resident inhabitants but the Acadian French, who, although abandoned by their hereditary sovereign, still withheld allegiance to any other.* Clinging with extraordinary affection and lingering hopes to France, it was long, and then with wonderful reluctance, before many of these unfortunate, and frequently ill-used people, were induced to swear fealty to the King of England. From this period to the peace (1763,) that succeeded the conquest of Louisburg and Canada, Nova Scotia was incessantly harassed by the savages; while the ill-fated Acadians kept the provincial government at the same time in continual uneasiness; and the powerful armaments of France, sent to reconquer the country, experienced the most tragical discomfiture. The details of these circumstances, although interesting, would now be considered tedious; and it will probably be sufficient to observe the leading features of this period.

The vicinity of the islands of St John and Cape Breton to Nova Scotia, which were still possessed by France, formed not only retreats for the savages, but places where they received rewards for their barbarities, as well as instructions from the Jesuit missionaries. The building and fortifying of Louisburg gave France a safe rendezvous for her fleets, and a

* The condition of the Acadian French, from the first settlement of Acadia to the present time, forms a subject of such interest, as to require, besides what occurs in this Historical Sketch, a distinct account, which will appear in a subsequent chapter.

position in every respect incomparably superior to Port Royal, for the purpose of annoying and injuring the English colonists. The hopes of the Acadian French, cherished by a knowledge of the past eventful history of Acadia, which had so often changed its masters, held them ever ready to assist even the feeblest effort of France to regain its sovereignty.

The settlement of Acadia was long disregarded by the British, although the governors issued proclamations which stated their readiness to grant lands on favourable terms to emigrants. But the New England and Southern States were at this time in a condition to afford abundant room for new settlers; and men, especially farmers, preferred removing to those places where others had previously gone, and of whom, or of their success, they had some knowledge. Very few, therefore, except trading adventurers, resorted for a long time to Nova Scotia. A respectable fishery was, previously to 1720, established at Canseau harbour; but during the autumn of that year, a desperate attack was made on this place by the Indians, several persons were killed, all the property plundered, and the merchants ruined. Many other acts of pillage and cruelty were committed by the savages; and several vessels lying in the different harbours were surprised and plundered, and the crews either scalped or made prisoners.

The Indians contended that the country was theirs by immemorial occupancy, and that they were an independent people; and the Governor of Louisburg, although it was well known that the savages were

persuaded by the French to commit these outrages, declared that he had no control over them.

In 1723, Canseau was surprised a second time by the Indians, who seized sixteen or seventeen vessels lying at anchor, and took several prisoners, some of whom they scalped. Even the seat of government (Annapolis) was attacked by them; and, although repulsed, they burnt some houses, took several prisoners, one or two of whom they scalped.

It became at length necessary to resort to resolute and effective measures against the Indians. On the west coast of the Bay of Fundy, the Abenaqui tribe were entirely governed by a Jesuit priest, named Pere Rallè, and by a son of the Baron Castine by an Indian woman. The latter, whom they considered their cacique or leader, was arrested, but soon afterwards released. He and Pere Rallè resided at Kennebec; and an expedition against the Indians and Acadians settled in this place, was dispatched from Massachusetts, which defeated both with great slaughter, and among the killed was Pere Rallè. The chapel, crucifix, and all that was considered idolatrous, were then destroyed, the goods plundered, and the buildings subjected to conflagration. The fate of Pere Rallè was much deplored by the Indians; and it was maintained that the provincials, after he was killed, treated his body with the most brutal barbarity.*

Soon after the beginning of the war that commen-

* Note C.

ced with France in 1744, Canseau was destroyed by an expedition sent from Louisburg. The Indians also recommenced their hostilities; and, under the directions of a French priest, and with some troops under the command of an officer from Cape Breton, besieged Annapolis. They were, however, compelled to raise the siege; and rewards were at the same time offered by the English to those who captured or scalped the savages. These premiums were, L.120 for every male prisoner above twelve years old, or L.100 pounds if scalped; and L.60 for women and children made prisoners, or L.50 if scalped. Notwithstanding these measures, Annapolis was again attacked by about one thousand Indians and several Acadians, commanded by French officers. These were also repulsed, and Louisburg and the island of St John were taken the following year by the provincial troops under General Pepperel.

The conquest of Cape Breton and St John's was of serious consequence to France, while it secured Nova Scotia, in a great measure, against the depredations of the savages, and gave the British ships of war the advantage of all the harbours on the coasts of America, with the consequent effectual means of annoying the commerce of France.

The harbour of Louisburg, and the possession of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, was, however, an object of too much importance to the French nation, to be abandoned to England without an extraordinary effort to recover those colonies. One of the most powerful fleets that had ever left France for North America

was therefore equipped for sea, provided with immense stores of artillery, ammunition, and provisions, and having on board about four thousand regular troops. The supreme command was given to the Duke d'Anville. They sailed early in the summer of 1746 from Rochelle, unobserved by the English, and escaped the pursuit made by Admiral Lestock. The disasters which this expedition experienced are scarcely paralleled by the fate of the invincible Armada of Spain. After a passage of nearly three months, D'Anville, with three ships, reached Chebucto, where one of his ships had arrived before him. He died a few days after. Several other vessels arrived, after experiencing great hardships; and the second command, under the vice-admiral, was assumed by M. De la Jonquire, governor of Canada. Eighteen hundred men, chiefly Indians and *coureurs du bois*, intended to co-operate with D'Anville, arrived early in the season at Minas, under M. de Ramzay, who, having waited beyond the expected time, returned towards Canada. Four hundred of these were overtaken, and returned and joined the French force in Acadia.

But the wretched condition of the troops that had arrived from France, and the great number of ships with stores and troops which were either lost or not accounted for, called for a council of war, in which the bombardment of Louisburg, according to the original plan, was relinquished, and an attack upon Annapolis agreed to, much against the advice of Vice-Admiral Destournelle, who now had the chief command. Up-

wards of twelve hundred men were lost during the voyage from France, and the majority of the survivors were reduced to a condition of helpless debility by scurvy and fever. It was found necessary to allow them time to recover, and encampments were accordingly formed for their accommodation. The infection was then caught by the Indians, several hundreds of whom became its victims; and about the same number of sailors and troops as died during the voyage, were carried off by disease after landing. Destournelle, reduced to that state of bodily weakness and depression of mind which usually causes delirium, terminated his life by running a sword through his body. Great as all these accumulated evils were, the attack upon Annapolis, if to be attempted at all, could not be longer deferred; and the fleet, reduced from seventy to forty ships, with the remaining troops, accordingly left Chebucto on the 13th October. The measure of calamity, however, which destiny had prepared for this expedition, was not yet completed. A tremendous storm dispersed the fleet off Cape Sable, drove them from the coast, and back to France, where most of them arrived in a shattered, disabled, and miserable condition.

This splendid fleet, which raised such glorious hopes in France, and caused proportionate terror in the British colonies, would, no doubt, if attended with even common fortune, have repossessed France of all the colonies she claimed in America. The glorious sun of England was now, however, in the ascendant; and in the beginning of May, another

fleet of thirty-nine ships, most expensively equipped, and destined for America, under the command of the gallant Jonquire, was defeated by Admiral Anson. M. Ramzay still remained in Nova Scotia, holding the province in a state of alarm ; but the intelligence of Jonquire's defeat destroyed all the sanguine hopes he had entertained of success, and he soon after retired to Canada.

After the power of France had been so effectually weakened in America as to leave all the sea-coasts and the fisheries under the dominion of Great Britain, there was scarcely any circumstance that could have more deeply mortified the English colonists than the restitution of Cape Breton to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

CHAPTER V.

Plan for Colonizing Nova Scotia—Governor Cornwallis—Halifax Founded—Indian Hostilities—Neutral French—Fleets which carry the Forces to Louisburg and Quebec arrive at Halifax—Mr Pitt's vigorous Policy—Constitutional Government granted to Nova Scotia—Treaty with the Indians, &c.

A PLAN for settling the province of Nova Scotia, agreeably to the recommendation of the Board of Trade, was now decided upon; and measures were adopted to form a settlement, and build a town and fortifications, within a harbour of equal security with Port Royal, and one that possessed also the advantage of immediate access during the whole year from the Atlantic.

The encouragement offered by government to effect this object, was too favourable not to be immediately accepted. Lands were to be granted to officers who had served during the war; the quantity, according to rank, from two hundred to six hundred acres; and to soldiers and seamen, fifty acres, with an addition according to the number of their families. Forty thousand pounds were voted by Parliament for defraying the expense of conveying the settlers to Nova Scotia, to assist in the erection of habitations, and to furnish one year's provisions.

Chebucto, on the east coast of the province, was fixed upon, on account of its safe and capacious harbour, at all times accessible, with its position the most convenient of any part of America as a rendezvous for fleets, and as a station to command the coasts, and to annoy the French trade with Canada, Cape Breton, and the West Indies.

In the month of June, the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, holding his Majesty's commission as governor of the province, arrived with about four thousand adventurers at Chebucto harbour; and having fixed on the sloping side of a peninsula, on the west side of the harbour, for the site of a town, laid it out according to a regular plan, and named it Halifax, in honour of the Earl of Halifax, then president of the Board of Trade and Plantations.

By the judicious arrangements of Governor Cornwallis, and the celerity with which the woods were cleared away, and houses and huts built, the colonists, as well as the military and seamen, were comfortably accommodated with habitations before winter. A council was formed, and measures adopted for the preservation of order, regulating the direction of labour, and enforcing a due obedience to the laws. Plans for defending the town were soon afterwards executed. The hostile spirit of the Indians rendered this necessary; while it was well known that the French colonists never ceased to excite the savages, over whom the priests had astonishing influence, to acts of depredation, as long as they held possession of Louisburg. Neither could the Acadian French

be depended upon. Although they and the Indians professed by their deputies submission to England, yet they resolved to remain as formerly neutral, and refused to become subjects by swearing allegiance to his Britannic Majesty. The Indians, meantime, plundered Canseau, attacked Dartmouth, opposite Halifax, scalped some of the inhabitants, murdered nearly half the crews of two ships in Halifax harbour, and carried off several prisoners, whom they sold at Louisburg. They were incessantly committing murders along the coasts, and it was impossible to guard the colonists effectually against enemies, who sprung with the agility and fury of tigers from the thickets, or who came along silently in their birch canoes during night.

The Governor of Louisburg pretended, as formerly, that he had no control over them, and that the premiums for English prisoners were given from motives of humanity, to prevent the horrible tortures which the savages would inflict upon them, or their excruciating death by the murderous scalping-knife.

Governor Cornwallis, however, was convinced that the answer of the Governor of Louisburg was mere finesse, to prevent remonstrances against the French government during peace; that many of the neutrals who were settled at Minas and Chignecto had already sworn allegiance to France; and that they were all ready to join a force sent by De la Jonquire from Canada under M. la Corne, who had built forts at Minas and Bay de Vert.

Major Lawrence, who was dispatched with a small detachment to Chignecto, found that the inhabitants, on learning that he was approaching, had burnt their houses, and joined La Corne ; and, after an unsatisfactory interview with this officer, he returned to Halifax. A force of one thousand men was in consequence sent to Chignecto under Major Lawrence, where he effected a landing with some difficulty and sharp skirmishing, and the loss of several men. The French and Indians saved themselves by escaping across the river and joining La Corne. He then built a fort, which served to overawe the French, and to check the incursions of the Indians.

The French, however, built several other forts ; and the Governor-General of Canada, as well as the Governor of Cape Breton, still persisted in encouraging the Indians and Acadian French in their depredations. The government of France, when repeatedly acquainted with these breaches of national faith during peace, promised immediate attention to the subject, and that no time should be lost in sending positive orders to Jonquire to remove all cause of remonstrance.

Dartmouth was, however, again surprised by the savages, who scalped and made prisoners of the majority of the inhabitants, and plundered their houses, escaping by the Shubenacady lakes to the Bay of Fundy ; and the settlement formed by a colony of industrious Germans at Malagash, or Lunenburg, was perpetually harassed, and many of the inhabitants murdered by the Indians.

Major Lawrence succeeded to the administration of the government in 1754; and soon after, an expedition from New England, under the command of Colonel Monkton, proceeded to Chignecto, where he was joined by four ships of war and a detachment of regular troops. After bombarding and taking a block-house and battery, Fort Beau-Sejour, which mounted twenty-six pieces of artillery, was stormed, and the garrison made prisoners and sent to Louisburg. The fort on Bay Vert was then invested and taken. In both, great stores of ammunition and provisions were found.

To secure the peace of the province, and to deprive the Acadians from assisting the French or encouraging the Indians, it was determined by Governor Lawrence to remove them from Nova Scotia, unless they subscribed to the oath of allegiance in the fullest manner. Their conduct at Chignecto was considered indefensible, although they always declared that they were forced to join La Corne, or else lose their lands, which he claimed as within the limits of Canada. They never had taken the oath of allegiance, and could not be treated as rebels. They now expressed all humility, and begged to be allowed to remove to Canada or Cape Breton, if they were to be sent from Nova Scotia, which they loved, and in which they were happy. They offered willingly to swear allegiance, if they were exempted from bearing arms against their countrymen and the Indians.

Their case was certainly difficult to adjust. To permit them to remove either to Canada, or to th

French colonies, would be adding great strength to the enemies of Britain, as war had then commenced; and to allow them to remain in possession of their lands, situated in the most dangerous part of the province, lying in the best route for the French and Indians to attack Nova Scotia, was considered equally dangerous; while the religious spirit of the English colonists, at the same time, distrusted the neutrality of Catholics, even under the sanction of an oath.

The Acadians were, therefore, without any intimation as to the object of calling them together, commanded to appear before Colonel Winslow at Grand Prè; and, in consequence of this summons, about four hundred men assembled. They were then shut up in the church, which was now turned into a garrison, where they were told that they were immediately to be removed from the province, and distributed among the other colonies, and that their cattle and lands were forfeited to the crown.

There were at this time from seventeen to twenty thousand Acadians inhabiting the rich and fertile lands of the province; they possessed upwards of sixty thousand head of horned cattle, seventy thousand sheep, fifty thousand hogs, besides horses. As their circumstances were equally distant between poverty and wealth, and their habits and education in that simple medium state between barbarism and refinement, their condition probably embraced as much happiness as man can enjoy, or human nature admit. Many of these people fled to the woods, and

joined the Indians; others found their way to Canada and the Island of St John. The villages were laid waste, and their houses burnt to ashes. The whole of the settlements at Chignecto and Minas were subjected to conflagration; and the wretched inhabitants, deprived of shelter, were obliged to submit, or fly to the woods, and finally escape to Canada, the Island of St John, or Cape Breton. From seven to eight thousand in all gave themselves up to be disposed of by the British commander; and it must be mentioned to the honour of Colonel Winslow, a brave and excellent officer, that, in sending them away from the country to which they were so much attached, he acted with more kindness and delicacy than his orders strictly allowed.*

The formidable warlike preparations then in operation, and which at that period occupied the attention of all Europe, became paramount to every other consideration with England, as its glory and prosperity seemed to rest on the die that should be cast by the fortune of this war.

Nova Scotia, in consequence of the commanding harbour of Halifax having become the rendezvous of the navy, and for some time the head-quarters of the forces, had now attained a summit of importance hitherto unknown in English estimation.

In the summer of 1757, a fleet of thirty-two ships and several transports, under the command of Admiral Holborne, arrived at Halifax, with five thousand

* See the condition of the Acadians in chap. xiii. b. 1, vol. ii.

troops, under Lord Howe; and Lord Loudon, on whom the chief command in America devolved, joined them with six thousand troops from New England. The grand object of these forces was the conquest of Louisburg and Canada; but the late discomfiture of the British troops near the Canadian lines, and the powerful fleet and strong garrison then at Louisburg, were considered wise grounds for deferring an attack until the following year. Meantime, Admiral Holborne proceeded with a fleet of twenty ships to reconnoitre off the harbour of Louisburg; but considering it imprudent to engage the French fleet at that time, he returned to Halifax. He soon after, with a reinforcement of four ships of the line, sailed for Louisburg; but the French admiral, secure within the harbour, and fully protected by the batteries, would not hazard an engagement, which alone might ruin the power of France in America. While on the coast, the whole English fleet were driven by a tremendous storm so near the rocks, that nothing but a sudden change of wind could have saved any of the ships. One vessel, with about half the crew, was lost, ten dismasted, most of them threw their guns overboard, and in this disastrous condition they were compelled to bear away for England, where they arrived in a very disabled state.

Such was the unfortunate termination of this powerful and expensive expedition, that the conquest of Louisburg and Canada would have been, in all probability, abandoned, if the British government had not then had at the head of its councils a man

whose mind misfortunes could not subdue, nor difficulties discourage.

Mr Pitt was this year appointed premier, and his almost superhuman sagacity soon discovered, that if Great Britain did not humble France, by conquering Cape Breton and Canada, the splendid sun of England would be obscured by the loss of our trade, and the ruin of the British colonies.

The vast importance of these colonies never, until he expired in their cause, forsook the mind of that great statesman: and his memory deserves to be immortalized by a monument in every town and hamlet in North America. The measures he adopted on the return of Admiral Holborne, astonished Europe. In less than five months, a most glorious fleet was equipped, which sailed immediately for Halifax. This fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty-two ships, commanded by Admiral Boscawen, and having on board an army of fourteen thousand regular troops, under General Amherst, arrived safe at that port in April, where they were joined by the provincial troops. On the 28th of May, this formidable armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven ships, and sixteen thousand troops, sailed from Halifax, and arrived five days after at Gabarus Bay. The conquest of Louisburg, which followed, and which I have already observed in the account of Cape Breton, with the surrender of St John's Island, secured the prosperity of Nova Scotia; and Governor Lawrence was enabled, on his return from Cape Breton, to attend to the civil affairs of the province.

The administration of government had hitherto been altogether vested in the Governor and Council. A House of Representatives was this year formed, agreeably to a constitution granted to the colony, corresponding with that of England. Every encouragement that the circumstances of the country would admit, was also offered to settlers by the Governor's proclamation.

The taking of Quebec by the expedition from Halifax under the immortal Wolfe, and the final conquest of Canada, gave complete security to Nova Scotia, the settlement and peace of which, since that important epoch in American history, has not been disturbed by the intrigues of France, or by the more terrible hostilities of the Indians.

Governor Lawrence died in the autumn of 1760. His administration was just, and his exertions in promoting the prosperity of the province committed to his care were truly great. He was, therefore, much esteemed, and justly regretted.

In consequence of the arrangements made by Governor Lawrence, the settlement of the colony advanced steadily, and the prosperity of the inhabitants was secured by the protection and assistance of government. As lands in favourable situations in New England became scarce, many of the redundant inhabitants removed to Nova Scotia, and formed the basis of an industrious and respectable population. Emigration from Ireland flowed afterwards into the province, and a few settlers arrived soon after from Scotland. A road was opened from Halifax to the

settlements in the Bay of Fundy, in the labour of which the troops assisted.

Arrangements were also entered into in order to place the trade with the Indians on such a scale as would secure justice to the savages, and a treaty was entered into with them, by which they acknowledged submission and allegiance to the crown of England.

Two years after the death of Governor Lawrence, the news of St John's and some other places in Newfoundland having been taken by the French, alarmed the inhabitants of Nova Scotia with the apprehension of invasion; and so far agitated the nerves of the president administering the government, that he laid an embargo on the shipping, proclaimed martial law, and resolved on removing from the province the remaining Acadian French. These unfortunate people were accordingly surprised at their peaceful agricultural pursuits, and led by the military to Halifax, from whence they were sent in transports to Boston. The people of Boston, however, would not allow them to land and become a burden on the province; and they were consequently sent back again to Halifax, where they were landed, and allowed to settle in the colony, as St John's and the other places in Newfoundland were retaken by the British.

CHAPTER VI.

Peace of 1763—Stamp-act submitted to in Nova Scotia—Lord William Campbell, Governor—Dockyard—Peace with the United States—Fleet with Loyalists arrive in Nova Scotia—Shelburne built—Packets established—His present Majesty, then Duke of Clarence, entertained at Halifax—Windsor College founded—Governors, Sir John Wentworth, Duke of Kent, Sir George Prevost, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, Earl Dalhousie, Sir James Kempt, Sir Peregrine Maitland.

By the treaty of Paris in 1763, France relinquished all claim to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, St John's Island, and Canada; and from that time these countries have formed a part of the British empire in America.

An Irish settlement was formed by one Alexander M'Nutt, this year, on the north side of Minas Basin, and named by the settlers, or by some Irish families settled there two years before, Londonderry. The following year, the same adventurer began a settlement at Port Roseway, to which he gave the pious name of New Jerusalem. It did not flourish; it has been long forgot, and even its name has vanished. A general survey of British America, by order of government, was commenced this year, but never completed. Several new townships were laid out in Nova Scotia, and granted away to various individuals, many of whom neglected to settle upon them;

but the troubles which began at this time to agitate the New England colonies, occasioned many to remove and settle in Nova Scotia.

In 1765, the famous stamp-act, which was publicly burnt at Boston, and resisted in all the southern colonies, was submitted to in Nova Scotia and in Canada; and both those provinces remained unshaken in their loyalty during the whole revolutionary war.

The Island of St John was separated from the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia in 1767, and erected into a distinct government, and new seals for each were sent to the respective governors.

Lord William Campbell, who was appointed governor of the province in 1760, sent the surveyor-general, in 1769, to New York, with information respecting the vacant lands in Nova Scotia, and the encouragement that emigrants might expect by settling in the colony. The dock-yard also, which was established some years before, was extended, and supplied with all necessary stores for the navy.

The militia was regularly trained, and held in readiness during the whole war; and two corps of provincial troops were raised for the defence of the colony. The inhabitants signed, unanimously, a declaration of loyalty, which was sent to his majesty, and received with great approbation. Copies of it were distributed throughout the realm.

In 1773, Lord William Campbell, being appointed governor of South Carolina, was succeeded in the administration of Nova Scotia by Francis Legge, Esq., as governor. At this time the population of

the province was estimated at nineteen thousand, which included about two thousand Acadians. Such was the fear of popish ascendency at this period, that Lord Dartmouth, the secretary of state for the colonies, ordered the governor not to grant lands to a Roman Catholic, until the case had been made sufficiently known to his majesty. The Americans burnt and plundered the fort and settlement of St John in 1775; and, during the same year, Charlotte Town was plundered by them, and the president and some other officers carried off prisoners: on their arrival in New England, they were, however, kindly treated, and politely released by General Washington. With the exception of the capture of a vessel at Pictou, afterwards retaken, and the attack upon Lunenburg, the Americans gave no further annoyance to Nova Scotia.

The Indians, who assembled at this time in vast numbers on the River St John, probably instigated by the intrigues of France, threatened hostilities against the English; but they were appeased by presents, and they have never since attempted any act of depredation.

In the autumn of 1781-2, Mr John Parr was appointed governor; and, in January following, the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States by Great Britain, formed a most important era in the history and settlement of Nova Scotia. Immediately after the treaty of peace, the province received an accession of American loyalists as settlers,*

* In all about eighteen thousand.

who may be said with great truth to have established the foundation of its prosperity. These men brought along with them correct principles, industrious habits, large sums of money, vessels, merchandise, cattle, and furniture; and many of them being respectable and intelligent men, the courts of justice and the legislature became consequently more respectable than in most new colonies.

In 1784, New Brunswick and Cape Breton were detached from Nova Scotia, and constituted separate governments. This measure was much complained of by the inhabitants, as reducing the province to the peninsula, and therefore limiting the jurisdiction of its government. On the following year a whale fishery was established by the settlers at Dartmouth, who came from Nantucket; and the town of Shelburn, at Port Roseway, rose up as by enchantment, having a population of twelve thousand in a few months, where no habitations had previously existed. Saw-mills and grist-mills were also built in all the settlements in which there was a population sufficient to pay the attendant expenses. A line of packets between Falmouth and Halifax was also established this year, and an alien duty of L.18 laid on oil imported to the United Kingdom from the United States, as an encouragement to the fisheries of the British colonies. The boundaries of lands were also adjusted and described; and various public improvements either completed or commenced.

Nova Scotia was then erected into a Bishop's See, and the first bishop, Dr Charles Ingles, appointed in

1787. His present majesty, while in the navy, was this year at Nova Scotia, and was entertained at a dinner and ball by the legislature. Among other public matters, a seminary of education, supported by legislative enactment, was established at Windsor, and, two years after, funds were appropriated for purchasing ground and building a college at the same place.

In 1792, Sir John Wentworth was appointed to succeed governor Parr; and the finances and the population of the province enabled the government soon after to open the great western road to Pictou. This was an undertaking of much labour, and its accomplishment one of the most important advantages to the inhabitants.

A mistaken philanthropy, or more blind enthusiasm, occasioned the removal during this year of the free blacks from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone, where they all died soon after. In consequence of the war with France, which commenced in 1793, Halifax became again an important rendezvous for the British squadrons on the coasts of America, and a provincial corps was also raised and trained. The first ships of war captured and brought into Halifax, were La Raison and La Prevoynant, belonging to a squadron bound to Guadaloupe, and taken by his majesty's ship Thetis, the Honourable Captain Cochrane, and the Hussar, Captain Beresford, in May 1795.

The exertions of his royal highness the late Duke of Kent, while he resided in Nova Scotia, should never be forgotten; so deep was the sense of his services

entertained by the legislature, that on his leaving Nova Scotia, previously to his appointment to the chief command of the army in America, they voted L.500 for the purchase of a star, as a mark of their esteem for him. He afterwards returned and remained in the province until the year 1809.

Nova Scotia has been peculiarly fortunate in having had its administration intrusted generally to good, and in most instances to great men.

Sir George Prevost, who succeeded Governor Wentworth in 1808, directed with great ability the resources of the province into proper channels. He introduced greater order into the public departments; established schools in all the principal settlements; carried into successful operation a new style of training the militia; founded that superb edifice, the "Province Building;" had new roads opened and the old ones repaired and improved; and by his application, talents, and power, did the utmost to encourage the agriculture, trade, and fisheries of the colony. On the promotion of Governor Prevost to Canada in 1811, he was succeeded by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, who, with equally good judgment, and with perhaps still greater ability, governed the province during the American war, and until 1817.

The Little Belt being fired into on the 16th May, 1811, by the United States ship President, and sixteen men being killed, and twenty-one wounded, may be considered the prelude to the last American war. The pride of the Americans was also wounded in 1807, by his majesty's ship Leopold firing into the

Chesapeake, which surrendered; and out of which several English deserters were taken, one of whom was tried by a court-martial, and hanged at Halifax.

The war commenced on the part of the Americans, by a squadron of the United States ships chasing and firing into his majesty's ship Belvidera, on board of which the captain and eighteen seamen were wounded and two killed. Letters of marque were soon after granted; and the privateers fitted out from the ports of Nova Scotia were very successful in making captures. Eastport was taken, in July 1816, by a squadron commanded by Sir Thomas Hardy, and the 102d regiment, and a detachment of artillery from Nova Scotia; and in August following, an expedition, commanded by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, sailed from Halifax for Castine, on the river Penobscot, which immediately surrendered. The John Adams, an American frigate, which lay at anchor in the harbour, was set on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the English. Machias soon after surrendered; and the militia and inhabitants of the coast, about one hundred miles in extent, on agreeing not to bear arms against his majesty during the war, were not further molested. This district of country was restored to the United States by the treaty of Ghent.

Whatever want of gallantry and bravery may be attributed to the American soldiers, during the last war, and which, no doubt, arose from the absence of discipline and subordination—for no one can charge the Americans generally with cowardice—they cer-

tainly displayed no want of heroism and bravery in their naval actions. They fought as if determined to evince that they had not degenerated from the stock they grew from, and as if proud to have an opportunity to prove the same by personal prowess and moral courage.

The most brilliant action perhaps on record, is that between his majesty's frigate Shannon, and the United States frigate Chesapeake, which only lasted *eleven minutes.*

Neither were there wanting instances of polite observance and humane consideration. The frontier inhabitants of Maine, being aware that carrying on hostilities against the frontier inhabitants of New Brunswick would answer no purpose but the destruction of private property and the calamity of private families, expressed their disposition not to enter into such warfare ; and the governor of Nova Scotia issued his proclamation, forbidding the subjects of his majesty in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to injure those on the frontiers of Maine. The bodies of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow of the Chesapeake, who were buried at Halifax, were also allowed to be disinterred, during the war, and carried to Salem, and afterwards to New York, where they were re-buried with great pomp and solemnity. Mr Munro, the president, ordered that no British vessel going to the station at Sable Island should be molested.

Sir John Coape Sherbrooke was promoted to the chief command in Canada in 1816. His administra-

tion was altogether distinguished by great and useful measures. No man's integrity could be more inflexible, nor could any governor be more indefatigable in all public duties. The legislature of Nova Scotia voted L.1000 for purchasing a sword, to be presented to him.

The Earl of Dalhousie, who succeeded to the government, held the administration until 1820, when he was appointed to the government of Canada.

His administration was exceedingly agreeable to the people of Nova Scotia, and his conciliating manners, and amiable, benevolent disposition, made him generally beloved. The excellent character of the amiable Countess of Dalhousie, will also be long remembered in Nova Scotia. During his lordship's administration, the central board of agriculture was formed at Halifax ; he founded Dalhousie College ; and the agricultural resources of the country, under his patronage, first began to be properly appreciated. He also granted L.1000 of the Castine fund, to establish a library for the use of the army at Halifax. On his departure, the House of Assembly granted L.1000 for the purchase of a sword and star for his lordship.

Sir James Kempt, who succeeded Lord Dalhousie in Nova Scotia, and afterwards, in September 1828, in Canada, is considered to be better acquainted with business in detail, than any of his predecessors. From the time he entered upon the administration of Nova Scotia, the agriculture, trade, and general prosperity of the province, have maintained a regular and thri-

ving progress; and various undertakings, connected either with the internal improvement of the colony, the encouragement of agriculture, or whatever may be considered beneficial to the common and general interests of the country, have been accomplished, or are in the progress of being completed.

Cape Breton was re-annexed to the province; a bank established at Halifax; a commercial society, and chamber of commerce founded; the cutting of the Shubenacady Canal commenced; Courts of Session formed in the counties; a line of packets established between Halifax and Liverpool; and a South Sea whale-fishery commenced, during Sir James Kempt's government.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, lately lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, is the present governor of Nova Scotia. His administration, although yet of too short duration to justify an opinion, seems to be mild, just, and agreeable to the inhabitants.

The people of Nova Scotia have, perhaps more than those of any other British colony, united earnestly with their governors in carrying forward and accomplishing any measure of public utility which they undertook; and to this co-operation may, in a great measure, be ascribed the absence of political difficulties, and the harmony for which this province has been so long and so justly distinguished.

From the foregoing pleasing retrospect of its government I have to advert, with great pain, to intelligence that I have since received of a most serious misunderstanding—I hope I am right in naming it

such—between the Legislative Assembly and Council, which arose from a novel right claimed by the latter in money bills, and by which the usual provincial revenue has, for the present year, been lost to the colony. If ministers determine that the Legislative Council shall arrogate to itself more than it constitutionally can, the measure will be the cause of general discontent throughout the colonies ; and if the representative legislature of Nova Scotia has erred, it has done so agreeably to the immemorial usage of the British House of Commons.

Three years ago, the council of Prince Edward Island attempted to claim much the same right in money bills as that which has lately been assumed by the council of Nova Scotia, and the opinion of Mr Huskisson, then secretary of state for the colonies, was, that the council was claiming a privilege to which it had no right whatever. This opinion set the matter at rest in that colony ; and it is to be hoped that the same example will be adopted to restore tranquillity to the legislature of Nova Scotia. On every other subject of importance, the most perfect and cordial understanding prevails between the different branches of the legislature; and the members of each house, who are generally men of ability and education, will likely, before long, wave the observance of mere formal privileges when the public good is at hazard.*

* Note D.

CHAPTER VII.

Constitution—Government—Administration of the Laws—Representation of the Towns and Counties—Defence of the Colony—Militia—Revenue—Quit Rents—Statute Labour—Poor Rates—Public Burdens, &c.

THE constitution of Nova Scotia is, by royal commission, a representative provincial government, one of the three original forms of colonial constitutions. Its legislature is a transcript of that of the United Kingdom, and vested in three estates; the governor representing the King, the council representing the House of Lords, and the Legislative Assembly representing the Commons' House of Parliament.

The lieutenant-governor* is commander-in-chief within the province, and independent of any other in civil authority, except when the governor-general is present, which seldom occurs, unless it be in the form of a visit, and then he assumes no authority. The king appoints the governor, and all public acts are issued

* The designation of lieutenant-governor may be considered the same as governor, as he is commander-in-chief within the province. The Governor of Canada, being Captain-general of British America, does not interfere with the administration of the other colonies.

and executed in his majesty's name. The governor of Nova Scotia is by rank a lieutenant-general in the army, and is styled, " His Excellency the Lieutenant-governor and Commander-in-chief in and over his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia and its dependencies, Chancellor and Vice-admiral of the same," &c. &c. &c. Before entering office, he takes the oath of allegiance, and also the oath of office for the due and faithful execution of the trust confided in him, and for the impartial administration of the laws. He is sworn before the council, or any three members of council. The governor receives on his appointment, or with his commission, a sort of code, called " the royal instructions," to guide him in his administration. Should he violate his duties by misrule, or by injuring or distressing his majesty's subjects, the course to follow, for the purpose of obtaining redress, is either by petition to the king or to the parliament, or else by action in the King's Bench.

The governor's powers are very extensive. He is commander-in-chief of the regular forces and militia within his government; he holds in custody the great seal of the province, is Chancellor of the Court of Chancery, and can extend the king's pardon to criminals. He presides in the Court of Error, summons the Provincial Assembly, nominates the high sheriff and justices of peace, suspends officers of the crown, grants licenses of marriage and probates of wills. He is also vice-admiral within the limits of his government. The crown pays a fixed salary to the governor, but the legislature has also settled a sum

to be allowed him to support the becoming dignity of his high station.

The council, besides their legislative duties, occupy the same place, in relation to the governor, that the privy council does to the king. The members are appointed either by his majesty's *mandamus*, or by the governor's nomination, to be afterwards approved of by the king, and are styled honourable. They are also justices of the peace throughout the province, and must take the usual oaths, as well as those of office. The council constitutes with the governor a Court of Appeal, or Court of Error, and also a Court of Marriage and Divorce. The senior councillor assumes the administration of government on the demise of the governor, or in his absence from the province.

The Legislative Assembly is a body formed of members elected by the inhabitants holding an annual interest of forty shillings in land, or who are householders, as their representatives. This assembly is considered to correspond, in respect to the province, in jurisdiction, privileges, duration, and parliamentary usage, with the Commons' House of Parliament. All money bills should originate in the House of Assembly. Acts of the Provincial Legislature, without a suspending clause, or that affect descent, marriage, &c. &c., must have the royal allowance to become a statute. Forty-one members represent the province. When Cape Breton was re-annexed to Nova Scotia as a county, Mr Lawrence Kavannagh, a most respectable and worthy man, was one of the two elected, and being a Catholic, the usual test oaths

were dispensed with, in respect to him, by his majesty.*

The impartial administration of the laws, if these laws be just, is assuredly the highest privilege which the colonies can enjoy. Nova Scotia has been eminently blessed in the uprightness and abilities of the judges of its courts. All causes, both civil and criminal, are determined according to the common and statute law of England, and the statute laws of the province. The courts of law, therefore, are constituted to correspond with those of England. The practice of the Court of Chancery is also agreeable to that of England; and although the governors, who are chancellors of this court in all the colonies, are generally unacquainted with law or with Chancery practice, yet, from deciding according to what appears to them to be just, on the rational principles of right and wrong, there is no doubt but their conclusions are as often correct as those of the lord chancellor would be. The absolute power which this court vests in the chancellor has, however, been most wantonly and tyrannically exercised by one or two colonial governors, but never in Nova Scotia.

The Supreme Court of Judicature is modelled after the Court of King's Bench, the practice of which is strictly adhered to. The jurisdiction of this court extends to all parts of the province, and it may be said to embrace also the powers of the Courts of Ex-

* It appears that the Catholic Bill of 1829 does not extend to the Catholics in the colonies, and, in consequence, the colonial legislatures have provided for this circumstance.

chequer and Common Pleas. The chief justice is paid by government, the assistant judges out of the colonial treasury. The present venerable chief justice, the Honourable S. S. Blowers, has presided thirty-two years on the bench of this court. His high legal attainments, impartial firmness of decision, and the excellence of his private character, must ever endear him to the inhabitants of Nova Scotia.

There is also a Court of Common Pleas in each county, the jurisdiction of which only extends to civil actions within the county. Magistrates take cognizance of breaches of the peace, and of matters of debt not exceeding five pounds. Appeals from the inferior courts may be made to the Supreme Court, from thence to the governor and council, who compose a Court of Error and Appeal, and from thence to England. In each county there is also a Court of Session. The Court of Admiralty has, since the last war, become little more than the mere name. Piracies are tried by special commission; but for some years no convictions have taken place.

The bankrupt laws do not extend to the colonies, nor is there in Nova Scotia any law which affords an unfortunate and honest debtor the release which is obtained in England, and which gives an industrious man the free exercise of his abilities in directing his labour and talents to productive or money-making pursuits. On the contrary, when a man in the colonies becomes unfortunate in trade, and unable to pay his debts, he is too often imprisoned, and finally driven, by poverty and desperation, either out of the

country, or, if he ever does business afterwards, as his property is always liable, he evades attachment, by owning nothing in his own name. From this circumstance has arisen a great share of that spirit of scheming and overreaching so frequently complained of as prevailing in the United States, and which unfortunately is also to be often discovered in all the British colonies that have legislatures of their own, and seldom in Newfoundland, where an act of the Imperial Parliament operates much in the same way as the bankrupt laws in England.

A provincial law in Nova Scotia, called the "Insolvent Debtors' Act," generally relieves the debtor from imprisonment, but the fruits of his industry afterwards are always liable, if the demands be renewed every seven years. A law which the good sense of the legislature of the province lately repealed, operated, and was most justly complained of, for many years. This law enabled a creditor who merely swore to his claim, to attach the property of his debtor, and consequently ruin his credit and blast his hopes and comfort, before proving his debt by a judgment of court. By this means, merchants and others certainly were enabled to obtain payment of debts that they would otherwise probably not have recovered, but such a law gave a bad man too much power over the property of others, and many an industrious, honest individual, who would have surmounted, with time, all his difficulties, has been ruined by its operation.

At present, the laws of the province are generally judicious, and, as far as they go, with the exception

mentioned, certainly calculated for the condition and prosperity of the colony. That there is too frequent recurrence to law is true, but experience and time will likely destroy this American mania, and Nova Scotia approaches nearer, in most respects, to the customs and ideas most approved in England, than any other part of America.

At the bar of the judicial courts a very fair share of rhetorical and legal knowledge is conspicuous. Formerly, admission as a barrister or attorney to the courts was too easily obtained; but an institution, established in 1825, formed of the judges, crown officers, and members of the bar, stamps respectability on the profession, by regulating the necessary acquirements of those who apply for admission as attorneys or barristers.

The representative constitution of Nova Scotia made it necessary to divide the province into counties, and that the county towns that should send members to the Assembly should be named. These regulations were accordingly adopted; but, in consequence of the country becoming populous, since the first Legislative Assembly met, in many parts which at that time contained no inhabitants, several alterations have been made in the representation of the province.

The extent of the province required also that it should be divided into districts or circuits for holding the courts of law. Besides these, lesser divisions have been made, called townships, but they might with equal propriety be called parishes, as they merely, without regard to extent of land, as in Canada

or in the United States, embrace the population of a certain division of a county, for the purpose of meeting annually, to take into consideration the condition of any poor people who may be among them, and to vote small sums for their relief or support.

The counties into which Nova Scotia is now divided, are, including Cape Breton, ten, viz.:—

The county of Halifax, divided again into the three districts of Halifax, Pictou, and Colchester, represented in the Provincial Assembly by nine members: four for the county, two for the town of Halifax, and one each for the towns of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry.

The county of Annapolis, which contains two districts, is represented by five members: two for the county, and one for each of the towns of Annapolis, Grenville and Digby.

The county of Shelburne contains two districts, and sends five members to the Assembly, two for the county, and one for each of the towns of Shelburne, Barrington and Yarmouth.

Queen's county sends two members to the Assembly for the county, and one for the town of Liverpool.

The county of Lunenburg sends also three members to the Assembly, one of which is for the town of Lunenburg.

King's county is represented by two members for the county, and one each for the towns of Horton and Cornwallis.

The county of Hants sends two members for the

county, and three members represent the towns of Windsor, Falmouth, and Newport.

The county of Cumberland is considered as unfairly represented, in proportion to its population, sending only three members to the Assembly, one of which is for the town of Amherst.

The town of Sidney sends only two members to represent it.

Cape Breton is also confined to the election of two members. This is certainly a most unequal representation; but the interests of Cape Breton being, in fact, those of the province generally, will no doubt be guarded by the legislature; and until there are men of more wealth among the inhabitants, who can afford to devote the time required, as their representatives, to legislative duties, it may probably be as well for the county to be represented by no more members. It might, it is true, be represented by additional members resident at Halifax; but it would not then follow that the interests of the county would be more faithfully attended to.

The military force, stationed in the province, consists of the greater part of three regiments of the line, and a detachment of artillery, which, with the provincial militia, and the ships of war on the station, secure the defence of the colony against any ordinary invasion.

The governor for the time being is commander-in-chief of the whole forces. Sir George Prevost was, however, the first governor who carried into execution an effective plan for training the militia.

The militia law is continued from year to year. By its regulations, every male between the age of sixteen and sixty years, is subject to enrolment for military service, but not to be led involuntarily out of the province.

The organized militia, including that of Cape Breton, may be estimated at 30,000 effective men, which form together twelve companies of artillery, and thirty-three battalions of infantry. No troops of cavalry, which I could find no satisfactory reason to account for, have as yet been formed.

The governor appoints all the militia officers; the highest rank is that of lieutenant-colonel.

The only officers who are remunerated for their services, are—three inspecting field-officers, the adjutant-general on the general staff, and the adjutant on the regimental staff. They are all paid, as well as the cost of the fire-arms of the privates, by the provincial treasury, and not by the imperial government, as some political grumblers have asserted.

With the exception of the artillery and flank-companies at Halifax, the militia of Nova Scotia exhibit a most unmilitary appearance; this does not arise, however, either from moral or physical defect; for in both they are not excelled by any equal body of men in Europe. The English retain all the pride and courage of Old England's yeomanry. The Celts of Nova Scotia are as brave and hardy as the Highlanders of Caledonia; and crossing the Atlantic Ocean has destroyed neither the fire nor the gallantry of the Hibernians; while the American loyalists and

natives of the provinces possess all the spirit that holds danger in contempt.

Since the peace, the militia musterings are merely meetings, where little more is done than calling over the roll; and as to the training, it is absolutely the very acme of burlesque. The arms have been called in, and lodged in depots to rust at Halifax; a very injudicious measure, although resorted to for their preservation, as many were said to be lost, and even sold by the militia-men, to whom they were issued. Fire-arms would, very likely, be frequently carried away by those who removed from one province to another, and used on all occasions in the woods, along the shore, or on board vessels; but preventing the inhabitants from doing so, can only be considered as a stretch of bad policy, for the purposes of ill-judged economy.

The skill which the militia-men of North America attain in the use of fire-arms, merely by the practice of shooting wild beasts and birds, causes them to be more dreadful enemies in a wooded country, than any troops in Europe would be; and it is absurd to check the means of acquiring such experience, by calling in the fire-arms. The effect of the inattention to military training would be felt at the sudden commencement of a war; but, in a short period, the personal spirit of brave men, defending their property and families, would render the militia of Nova Scotia more formidable to invaders than most men imagine. Yet, it should be the policy of Government to encourage a spirit for military training among the

inhabitants, in a manner the least inconvenient to men in their habitual pursuits.

The provincial revenue is raised wholly by trifling impost duties, principally on wines and ardent spirits; which, however, amount to about L.60,000, and which is appropriated by the legislature nearly in the following proportions; varying, however, according to contingent circumstances:—

Administration of the Government, . . .	L.2,800
Expenses of the Legislature, ...	3,000
Judges and Courts of Justice, ...	5,000
Roads, ...	30,000
Militia, ...	2,000
Security of Commerce and Navigation, . .	3,000
Schools, ...	3,500
Public Buildings, about	10,000
Expenses of collecting the Revenue, . . .	1,500
Incidental expenditure, ...	8,200
	L.60,000

Part of this revenue is collected by the custom-house, the rest by the collector of excise. The officers of his majesty's customs, instead of the fees they formerly received, have now fixed salaries.

The collector at Halifax has L.2000 per annum, the comptroller L.1000, and the other officers are paid in proportion. By an act of the Legislative Assembly, in 1829, the province voted L.7444, 18s. 9d. in one general sum to his majesty's government, for the custom service; being L.1870, 14s. 8d. less than the amount stated by the crown. The scale of appropriation was left to the commissioners of the customs

It must be confessed that the Provincial Assembly appears, at least on comparison, to be sufficiently liberal in the sum voted for the custom-house service.*

* The Governor of New York receives only half the salary that the Collector of Halifax does; but this again is reducing economy to meanness.

The quit-rents on all lands granted by the crown, of two shillings per hundred acres, if it be ever collected, will form the only tax payable to the crown. The amount of the quit-rents would not, probably in time, form a burden of itself very difficult to pay; but the collection of this rent would most certainly produce distress and general discontent in the province. Those who may be acquainted with the extraordinary distress that was created by the proceedings instituted by the orders of Mr Smith, in the winter of 1823, in Prince Edward Island, when a quit-rent of only two shillings had, in numerous instances, been collected at an expense of L.8 to L.15 to the individual from which it was claimed, must declare their opposition to the collection of quit-rent in British America. And if the British government, after having tacitly relinquished their collection for so many years, now insist on their payment, it will be better for the colonial legislature to purchase them by an annual grant to the crown. The sum of L.2000 per annum, as the price of these quit-rents, is required as a commutation for the quit-rent.

This sum appears to me to be rather too much for Nova Scotia; for, although its condition is certainly prosperous, yet as there is so great a part of the colony occupied by water and rocks, it would follow that a large proportion of this grant, in lieu of quit-rents, would, in fact, be a tax on its trade and fisheries, and not on the land.

Trifling poor-rates are collected, for the support of a few paupers. In the country, if there be any poor, they are placed to board among those who will take them at the lowest price. Care, however, is generally taken that they are committed only to those who will maintain them properly. A provincial statute requires

that each inhabitant, from sixteen to sixty, should perform three or four days' labour, either personally or by substitution, on the public roads; this is certainly no grievance.

The public burdens of the province are in fact so light, and the trifling impost duties, which are confined to articles of luxury, so unimportant, that we can in no country find the inhabitants placed, in these respects, under more favourable circumstances. Although the salaries of public officers in the United States are low beyond precedent, there are innumerable public exactions, which bear heavily on the citizens, that the inhabitants of British America never feel.

CHAPTER VIII.

Description of Halifax—Society—Manners and Amusements—Public Establishments—Institutions—Intercourse with Europe, United States, West Indies, and Northern Colonies—Trade—Chamber of Commerce—Whale Ships, &c.

On the south-east coast of Nova Scotia, in latitude 44° 40′ N., and longitude 63° 40′ W., and nearly equidistant from its extreme points, Halifax harbour enters the province. It is at all seasons accessible, and its navigation scarcely ever interrupted by ice. On a small island off Sambro Head, on the west side of the entrance, stands a lighthouse; and another light has lately been established on Sherbrooke Tower, which stands on Magher's Beach, a spit extending from MacNab's Island; when this light can be seen, ships are at a safe distance from a dangerous shoal called Thrum Cap, and may run into the harbour without fear. The bay, from which the entrance of the harbour leads, is formed between Sambro Head and Devil's Island. There are four islands still farther in; on the smallest of these, which is nearly opposite the town, there are batteries strongly mounted, and several other fortifications command the harbour. The passage to the harbour on the west side of MacNab's Island, is that for large ships; the other, on the east, has only water for schooners.

There is sufficient water for ships of war between MacNab's Island and George's Island. The main channel is guarded by York Redoubt, Sherbrooke Tower, and several other batteries. The eastern passage is defended by a strongly built stone fort, called East Battery. Carrol's or Macnamara's Island is fertile, with picturesque clumps of wood growing on it. MacNab's Island, containing about 1000 acres of good land, is under partial cultivation, and prettily wooded.

The town of Halifax is built on the east side of a peninsula, on the declivity of a hill, which rises gradually from the water on the west side of the harbour. In length it is rather more than two miles, and about half a mile in breadth. The streets are wide, and cross each other, generally at right angles,—but that only next the water is paved; most of the others, however, are Macadamised, and from the ascent and nature of the ground, usually dry; but in summer, the dust, which is often whirled furiously along by the winds, is exceedingly disagreeable.

The appearance of Halifax from the water, or from the opposite shore, is prepossessing and peculiar. The front of the town is lined with wharfs, alongside of which vessels of all sizes, and variously rigged, are incessantly discharging or loading their cargoes.* Warehouses rise over the wharfs, as well

* When first at Halifax, a short time after the war, I went down to the wharfs to see the hull of a foreign ship, I think Dutch, apparently of more than 1000 register tons, which was captured by some of our cruisers. This huge vessel was hauled, by the person

as in different parts of the town; and dwelling-houses and public buildings rear their heads over each other as they stretch along, and up the sides of the hill. The spires of different churches; the building above the town, in which the town clock is fixed; a rotunda-built church; the signal-posts on Citadel Hill; the different batteries; the variety of style in which the houses are built, some of which are painted white, some blue, some red, and some built of brick and stone, intermixed with those built of wood; rows of trees showing themselves in different parts of the town; his majesty's ships moored opposite the dock-yard; the establishments and tall sheers of the latter; the merchant ships under sail, at anchor, or alongside the wharfs; the wooded and rocky scenery of the background; with the islands, and the small pretty town of Dartmouth on the eastern shore; are all objects which strike most forcibly on the view of a stranger when sailing up the harbour.

The number of dwelling-houses is estimated at about 1700, the public buildings 82, and the population, exclusive of the army and navy,* about 16,000.

who purchased her, until well grounded alongside of a wharf, and then roofed over the deck, in the same way as the warehouses are. Doors were cut in the side, and the spaces between decks, and under the roof, converted into warehouse rooms, below which there were stables for cart and truck horses; and if I recollect well, there was a tannery in one end. This vessel was afterwards burnt by accident, when it was discovered she had a double set of timbers.

* There is generally the greater part of three regiments, a company of artillery, a numerous staff, and some ships of war, at Halifax.

The houses are very irregularly built, some being one, some two, some three, and a few four stories high. Handsome stone and brick buildings are built and furnished in the English style; and many of the houses built of wood, are really more imposing in their appearance, being large, neatly finished, and painted white, than the best stone houses. The wooden houses are lathed, plastered, papered, and finished within, in the same manner as stone or brick houses. Fires have at different times destroyed very many of the old wooden buildings; and although individuals were, in consequence, subjected to great loss and inconvenience, yet the town, from having stone or brick houses built on the site of the former wooden ones, has greatly improved.

About a mile above the upper end of the town, the harbour becomes very narrow, but again widens into a splendid sheet of water, called Bedford Basin, the surrounding scenery of which, although not highly romantic, is agreeably varied, and beautifully picturesque. This basin forms a harbour, in which a thousand ships can anchor with shelter and safety. On the west side, the late Duke of Kent, when commanding in North America, erected a handsome residence, with corresponding out-houses, offices, &c.; and the grounds, naturally beautiful, he laid out with much taste. The road to Windsor, from which the great western road branches, leads past this villa.

The north-west arm, which branches off from the main entrance of the harbour, is about four miles long, something less than half a mile in width, with

ten to twenty fathoms depth of water, and with safe anchorage. It winds in the rear of the town, until within half a mile of Bedford Basin, forming the land between it and the harbour into the peninsula of Halifax. A small island lies near the mouth of the north-west arm, within which a chain was stretched across, during the war, to prevent the entrance of hostile vessels. Near the head lies Melville Island, connected to the peninsula by a bridge. On this islet are buildings, now decaying fast, in which prisoners of war were lodged. Opposite, among the bushes, are the humble *tumuli*, which swell over the remains of those whom the mere game of war deprived of liberty, and whose destiny it was to be only released from captivity, by the universal liberator—*Death.*

Several streams issue into the north-west arm, on one of which there are mills built. The formation of the Peninsula of Halifax, is little more than a vast rock of hard bluish clay slate, impregnated with iron, which imparts to nearly all the water a hard metallic taste. There are, however, a few wells of good water. Great labour and expense have at length succeeded in converting most of the peninsula, from naked rocks, to fertile fields; but the greatest part of the soil has been formed by artificial means.

At the south end of the town, is the "Government House," so named, from being the residence of the governor of the province. The appearance of this structure is baronial, rather than elegant; the stone of which it is built, though tolerably well polished,

is of a sombre colour, which imparts a gloomy, and rather antique character to the building.

The most splendid edifice in North America is, certainly, the " Province Building" of Nova Scotia. It stands nearly in the centre of Halifax, in the middle of a square, which is enclosed with handsome iron railing. The size of this superb building is at present perhaps too great for the business of the province ; but it must be considered built as well for the use of posterity, as for that of the present day ; and that it is situated in the metropolis of a country, the population of which is multiplying rapidly. Its length is 140 feet, breadth 70 feet, and the height of the walls 45 feet. Its plan combines elegance with strength and utility. The columns are of the Ionic order ; and the beautiful freestone, quarried in the province, of which it is built, is finely polished. It contains chambers for the Council and Legislative Assembly ; the Supreme Court, with its appendant offices ; and also, all the provincial offices, as the treasurer's, surveyor-general's, colonial secretary's, &c. &c. ; the Halifax public library, &c.

The admiral's house is a plain stone building, at the north end of the town, and on an eminence above the dock-yard, commanding a view of the harbour, telegraphs, and shipping. It is appropriated for the residence of the admiral, for the time being, commanding the squadron on the American station. There is also a respectable large wooden building at the south end of the town, for the use of the military commandant. The north and south barracks, built

also of wood, are sufficiently extensive to accommodate three regiments. Connected with the barracks is an excellent library, for the use of the military, for which they have principally to thank the Earl of Dalhousie. The other government buildings are, commodious ordnance and commissariat stores; the military hospital, a large respectable building, erected under the direction of the late Duke of Kent; the dock-yard, &c. The naval hospital was burnt down some time ago, and nothing has yet been built to replace it.

His majesty's dock-yard in Halifax is the most respectable establishment of the kind out of England. Its plan is extensive, and embraces, within the stone wall which surrounds it on the land side, all that is useful and convenient for repairing and refitting the largest ships.* Attached to it is the residence of the commissioner, a respectable-looking house. Never was there a more egregious measure entered upon, than that of removing the greater part of the naval stores from Halifax, for the purpose of establishing

* A gentleman, connected with the establishment, politely showed me, in November 1828, through all the extensive ranges of store-rooms connected with the dock-yard. Every article within them was arranged in the most orderly manner, in respective apartments; and the rooms were in the best possible condition for preserving all kinds of naval stores from decay. Some cordage, of a size that did not happen to suit, was pointed out to me as having been twenty-five years in the store, and still in the most perfect state of preservation and strength. The climate of Bermuda destroys, on the other hand, the fibrous strength of hemp, according to the information given me, in a very short time.

a dock-yard at Bermuda, for the use of his majesty's ships on the American station; the absurdity of which is too palpable not to be seen into at once by all who have any knowledge of both places. Halifax has the best harbour in North America, in a healthy climate, and in the centre of countries abounding in timber, and all kinds of provisions, at low prices. The Bermuda Islands, on the contrary, are little more than a cluster of rocks, in the middle of the ocean, of extremely dangerous access, covered only in detached spots with a scanty soil; and where, besides the frequently unhealthy state of the climate, provisions, and almost every thing else, are only obtained at exorbitant prices.* Natural obstacles of great magnitude must also be removed from the site of the dock-yard at Bermuda, before it can, in any respect, answer the intended purpose. The attendant expense will be enormous.

The Episcopal church (St Paul's) is a large and handsome-looking edifice, with a tall spire. The interior has much the appearance of a large modern church in England. It has a good, but not very powerful, organ. The rotunda-built church, at the north end of the town, called Dutch-town, has a dome, and an imposing appearance; but a stranger

* Few places are more unfit for a naval hospital. Fresh meat can only be had with great difficulty, at any price. Fish is plentiful, it is true. I have frequently heard the *natives*—who, by the way, are an industrious, frugal people—say that a bit of Irish or American ham was a *dainty* only to be indulged in on rare and particular occasions.

would more readily take it for a *circus*, or a building to exhibit a large panorama, than for a church.

The Scotch kirk, called St Andrews, is rather a plain building, with a neat spire. The new Catholic chapel is an immense stone building, erected close to the old chapel. Besides these places of worship, there are one Presbyterian meeting-house, two for Anabaptists, one Methodist, and one Sandemanian.

There is also a poor-house, and a work-house, or house of correction. In a large brick building, in which the Court of Common Pleas is held, there is also an exchange room, where the merchants meet, and in which the principal English and American papers are taken. In the Free Mason's Hall, there are assembly rooms; and at the south end of the town is the humble building at present used as a theatre.

The state of society in Halifax is highly respectable. The officers of the civil government, and of the army and navy, mix very generally with the merchants and gentlemen of the learned professions; and most of the leading residents, whether engaged in commercial or other pursuits, are men of genteel education and intelligence. These circumstances impart to the first class of society in Halifax, more refinement, more elegance and fashion, than is to be met with probably in any town in America. I will not except even Quebec or Montreal; certainly no town in the United States.

The style of living, hours of entertainment, fashions, manners, dress, are all English. Dress is fully as much attended to as in London; and many of the

fashionable sprigs who exhibit themselves in the streets and lounging-places of Halifax, and indeed in lesser towns in British America, might even in Regent Street be said to have attained the *ne plus ultra* of "dandyism."

The amusements of Halifax are principally such as are usual in the other North American provinces; in all of which, assemblies, pic-nic parties, and amateur theatricals, form leading sources of pleasure. Annual horse races, on a respectable scale, have for some time been established; and it is remarkable, that all over America there is a general passion for this kind of diversion or amusement. Regattas, for which Halifax harbour is one of the finest in the world, have been conducted with great spirit and splendour, annually, for a few years past.* Riding, fishing, and shooting in summer, skating, and driving about cabrioles or sledges in winter, are other pleasures which are delighted in; and when the streets are covered with ice, there is not a small share of exulting pride enjoyed by him who can drive with the greatest impetuosity round a corner.

The troops generally once a-year afford the inhabitants the imposing spectacle of a sham battle.†

Excursions are also frequently made during sum-

* The officers of the army and navy engage in the regattas with great earnestness, and prepare themselves for the contests with fully as much eagerness as the civilians do, although the latter were victorious in the principal rowing match last year, (1829.)

† Note E.

mer, by those who can afford the time and expense, to different parts of the country.

The balls, *soirées*, and dinners at Government House, and the assemblies, are conducted in the same manner and style as English etiquette and fashion have established. Those who are admitted to these, (for although private feeling may sometimes be unavoidably and unintentionally lacerated, it is necessary to mark a line of demarcation somewhere,) are the officers of the civil government, those of three regiments, artillery and staff, and gentlemen of respectability and education from among the merchants and resident inhabitants. Fancy balls, but confined to the same circles, have also been introduced.

Those delightful sources of social pleasure—small evening parties at the houses of private families—which we enjoy in England with probably much greater satisfaction and happiness than any of our various public amusements, are, as respects America, more perfectly the property of Halifax. I believe there are few, who, having visited Halifax, and who have been at these small parties, but will say that they have insensibly forgot that they were not in England,—the language, the manners of the ladies and gentlemen, the style of dress, the dancing, the *entregent* or small talk, the apartments, the furniture, the refreshments, are all so truly alike, so much akin to England.

It would be ungallant to take leave of Halifax without mentioning what none but those whose hearts are indeed cold, if they have visited the place,

can forget—I mean the ladies. Along with my own admiration of their beauty, accomplishments, amiability, and excellence of character, I must add, that several English gentlemen, who were at Halifax while I was there, have frequently remarked to me their admiration of the beauty, genteel manners, and intelligence of the ladies. These gentlemen, I may also observe, were men of liberal education, well acquainted with the world, and in the habit of mixing with fashionable society in Europe. It may appear presumptuous to add farther, that in the small but neat theatre at Halifax, more genteel and beautiful ladies may be seen, than among the same number in the boxes of any of the London or provincial theatres. We may account for it from there being in reality a greater number of respectable inhabitants in Halifax, according to its population, than in the towns of this country. In Halifax there are few labourers or manufacturers, and even the labouring people, by having greater means, are always better dressed than in England. In regard to the gentlemen of Halifax, and particularly those who have been born and educated in the province, I only record the opinion of other travellers, as well as my own, when I state, that, at the bar and in the pulpit, as merchants and as private gentlemen, we discover the natives of Nova Scotia, with few exceptions, to be men of superior attainments; and we must ascribe this principally to the careful provision that has been long made for the education of youth. Many circumstances also cherish and maintain among them

endearments and associations connected with the mother country. The anniversaries of the titular saints of each of the three kingdoms are also celebrated at Halifax, with much spirit and cordiality; and, let indifferent spirits or cold hearts say what they may, there are but few indeed of those born in the British Isles, or of their offspring, who, when abroad, forget the associations and warm feelings of the heart, which filial regard and a lingering fondness for the United Kingdom, in spite of circumstances, inevitably nourish and preserve.*

The officers of his majesty's civil list, and those of the army and navy, prefer Halifax, I believe, to any other town in America. They soon find themselves at home among the kind and hospitable inhabitants of the place; and I have never met an officer elsewhere, who was at Halifax for any time, who did not

* On my dining as a guest with the North British Society, on St Andrew's day, (1828,) I was particularly pleased with the animated but orderly enthusiasm which prevailed. An old Scotchman in humble life, who had been for thirty years messenger to the Society at Halifax, and who resigned, in consequence of his age, that evening to a more able-bodied man, interested me exceedingly. When he drank to those around the board on the occasion of taking his departure, and on his own health being drunk as a faithful messenger, the old man's face seemed reanimated by the return of youthful vigour while he walked round the room behind our chairs. On the same occasion, several songs were sung, which were written by the natives of the colony, sons of Scotchmen, and educated in the province. Some of these I have copies of; and, as far as my judgment can appreciate, they possess great merit, particularly two or three written by a young gentleman, a member of the court in one of the counties.

speak with enthusiasm of the place. The excellent library established by the Earl of Dalhousie, affords also to the military a variety of standard and popular works, which, at such a distance from England, to gentlemen whose profession can barely allow them to carry along their necessary luggage when travelling, must be considered a great advantage.

There are six or seven weekly papers and a monthly magazine, and one or two circulating libraries; and also one or two booksellers, the principal one of whom imports from England and the United States the most approved new publications. There is also a livery-stable or two, the best of which is kept by a negro.

It is in the streets of Halifax that we most forcibly feel that we are not in Europe. In place of the huge horses and carts and frocked carters of England, we observe a thing, convenient enough in its way, called a truck, which forms a kind of inclined plane to roll puncheons of rum and molasses on it, with a half-starved horse, and generally a negro driver. We see few four-wheeled carriages—no hackney coaches; but many drive their own gigs in summer, and almost every one has a horse and sledge, or cabriolet, for winter amusement; waggons coming in with hay from the country, driven by the tall lank sons of the farmers, clad in short light-blue jackets, grey or blue trowsers, and straw hats; a parcel of lazy, miserable negroes, with some wild fruits or brooms to sell, from Hammond's plains; the proud strut of the well-fed and well-dressed negro servant;

a group of Micmac Indians, probably drunk, with their squaws and children; here and there an Acadian Frenchman and his wife, decently and simply dressed, the latter much in the same fashion as that of her ancestors a century and a half past;—all these, in contrast with brilliantly dressed military officers, on horseback or on foot, the golden epaulets, cocked hats, and blue uniform of the navy, and fashionably dressed resident gentlemen and strangers, the exquisite dandy, groups of soldiers, and sailors belonging to the men-of-war or to the merchant ships, may give some idea of the population that animate the streets of Halifax.

The intercourse between Halifax and Europe is regular and certain, either by the government packets to Falmouth, which now proceed once a-month from Halifax direct, or by the Halifax Packet Company's ships to Liverpool.

The latter is by far the most preferable conveyance, the ships being large, substantial, well equipped, and commanded by experienced officers; and considering the comfortable accommodations, and the sumptuous living, the fare (L.25) is cheap.*

There are sailing packets regularly established between Halifax and Boston; and vessels sail every week to New York and the West Indies. The government packets go to and return from Bermuda; and during summer, vessels sail regularly to Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, Pictou, Miramichi,

* Note F.

Bay de Chaleur, and Quebec, and nearly all the year round to Newfoundland and New Brunswick. There are steam-packets about to be established between Halifax and Quebec, which will be attended with very great advantage and convenience.

Although resident housekeepers live in the most comfortable manner at Halifax, the notorious badness of the inns or boarding-houses does not afford the same comfort to transient residents. The attendance is bad in the extreme, the beds far from being good; and, although the tables are plentifully loaded with good things, yet altogether, both the inns and boarding-houses, or when you dine at a *table d'hôte*, although equally expensive, are beyond description inferior to those of Quebec or Montreal. A man who understood the business, and who would establish an hotel in the English style, with proper attentive waiters, might, with good management, make a fortune at Halifax.*

The climate of Halifax is perhaps more foggy, but not so rainy, as that of England, and much hotter in summer and colder in winter. The fogs, which are disagreeable, but not unwholesome, are occasioned by its proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, and only occur when the winds blow from the sea.

Halifax has, since its first settlement in 1749, continued to be a place of considerable importance, not only as a rendezvous for his majesty's ships, and as

* Since I left Halifax, I am informed that a very good boarding-house, or *table d'hôte*, has been established.

the head-quarters of the troops on the establishment of the lower American provinces, but also as the centre of a profitable fishery and trade.

There are certain points on the face of the globe, which, by their position, seem intended by nature for the site of great storehouses, or places wherein to deposit the productions of one country for the purpose of distributing them again to others. In respect to British America, Halifax must doubtless be considered the great and most fit depot for all general purposes, especially during the winter months.

During the last war, the vessels and property captured from the enemy on the coast of North America, were chiefly sent into Halifax for condemnation. At that time, money was exceedingly abundant ; all who possessed even common sagacity accumulated considerable sums, and Halifax became the theatre of incessantly active enterprise and commercial speculations. But the merchants and traders generally, as well as others, became at the same time so far intoxicated with, or lured by, the gains of the moment, that they apparently forgot, or at least did not stop to consider, that, according to the common order of things, a change must inevitably take place that would speedily destroy the then sources of wealth. They accordingly entered into many imprudent speculations, and launched into a most splendid style of living. The peace crushed both, and opened the eyes of all. Since that period, trade has been established on a more solid foundation, and conducted more prudently, and according to a more regular

system. The commerce of Halifax is therefore, at the present time, in as prosperous a condition as that of any town in America; and it deserves to be noticed, that only one house of consequence has failed for the last twelve years.

By an order in council, it was, in 1817, declared, to a certain extent, a free port; and since then the privilege of being a free warehousing port has been extended to it. There is great activity observed, particularly about the wharfs, among all classes connected with, or employed in trade. The principal commerce of Halifax is with the West Indies, which has increased greatly since the Americans of the United States have wisely been prohibited from participating in the same trade. Next to this trade is that with Great Britain, which, in respect to the importations of British manufactures, has increased, and will still increase, prodigiously. Its commerce extends also to the continent of Europe.

A company was formed some time ago to open a trade with the East Indies; one experimental voyage to which has been accomplished, with sufficient success to warrant the prosecution of the trade. The East India Company now send a ship with teas annually to Halifax, consigned to the respectable house of S. Cunard and Company. Halifax enjoys also an important inter-colonial trade, as well as its trade with all the outports of the province. The latter receive a great part of their West India produce, and most of their British manufactures, from Halifax, which are paid for in money, fish, agricul-

tural produce, furs, and lumber. Several vessels are also fitted out for the fisheries, which would be rapidly increased in number, were it not for the competition which we have enabled the Americans to establish and to maintain.

The exports from Halifax consist chiefly of dried codfish, pickled herrings, mackerel, and salmon ; red herrings, coal, lumber, staves, cattle, butter, cheese, flour, oats, potatoes, &c., to the West Indies and the southern parts of America ; and of timber, staves, deals, fish, oils, furs, &c., to Great Britain. The imports from the West Indies, &c., are rum, sugar, molasses, tobacco, &c., and all sorts of manufactured goods.

Some years ago, when the business was not so well understood in Halifax, the enterprising house of Messrs Cunard made several spirited trials in the whale-fishery, which, however, did not succeed so well as might have been expected, or as their attempts deserved. But neither they themselves nor others were to be discouraged by failures, caused more probably by accidental circumstances, than by more substantial causes, while the Americans were pursuing the whale-fishery with success and profit. A remarkably fine ship, named the Pacific, was therefore built (in 1828) for the South Sea whale-fishery, and fitted for sea at an expense of L.11,000. This vessel was equipped with stores for three years, and, manned by spirited young men belonging to the province, proceeded to the Pacific Ocean.

Another large ship was chartered by the same

company in 1828, and equipped and fitted out for the Brasil bank; and Messrs Cunard have lately purchased a condemned sloop of war, which they have repaired, equipped, and dispatched for the South Sea whale-fishery.

The ships owned by the inhabitants of Halifax are about ninety large, square-rigged vessels, and about the same number of large schooners, with several smaller craft. The wharfs are also generally lined with coasting vessels and English and foreign ships, as well as those belonging to the port.

The articles manufactured at Halifax are as yet but few in number, and none to any great extent. Among these, two or three porter and ale breweries are the most important; and the ale, which is much like that brewed in Leith, is certainly of excellent quality. There is also a sugar refinery, on rather an extensive scale; rum, gin, and whisky distilleries; soap and candle manufactories; tanneries; a paper mill, and several tobacco manufactories. An iron foundery has lately been established opposite the town at Dartmouth.

There were several attempts made to establish a public bank at Halifax, under a legislative charter, but the different bills brought under the consideration of the House of Assembly were so thoroughly tortured during their progress, that their vital principles were completely destroyed, while an overwhelming load of restrictions rendered them impracticable. The consequence was, that the merchants themselves have established, independently, a private bank, which

is considered perfectly safe, and which affords facilities, some think too freely, others not sufficiently so, to the commercial interests of the province.

The merchants of Halifax, generally speaking, connect prudence and active perseverance with enterprise. They are by no means backward in undertaking whatever affords a fair prospect of gain. Some of the old moneyed men are, it is true, certainly accused, and, it must be admitted, with some justice, of declining to co-operate in any measure in which there is the barest possibility of risk.

The line of Liverpool packets, the whale ships, the bank, and that great undertaking, the Shubenacady Canal, have all been projected, and are all conducted and supported by the energies of associations, formed in the province.

In 1826, a company was formed to open a canal navigation from Halifax harbour to the Basin of Minas, along the line of the Shubenacady Lake and rivers, a distance of about fifty-four miles; and the legislature voted L.15,000 in aid of this spirited undertaking. This canal will soon be completed, and Halifax must derive great advantage from it, to which it will convey the agricultural productions of the fertile districts of the Basin of Minas, as well as various kinds of lumber, and probably coal and other minerals, which abound along its banks. It is sixty feet broad at top, thirty-six at the bottom, and will float vessels drawing eight feet. It is intended to have small steam-boats on it to tow vessels along.

The Chamber of Commerce of Halifax, consisting

of fifteen members, elected by ballot from the general subscribers of the Commercial Society, has imparted a spirit of energy to the trade of the province, unknown before its establishment.

The Commercial Society was formed in March 1822, by agreement, signed by the members, who are the principal merchants; and the Chamber of Commerce may be considered as a committee acting for the Commercial Society. Their business consists of taking into consideration every subject connected with the trade of the province; corresponding with the Chambers of Commerce of other colonies on all commercial matters; managing the funds of the society; presenting petitions to the House of Assembly; making necessary by-laws, and collecting all the information respecting the colonial trade. They certainly do not neglect the duty confided to them; and to this circumstance we may, in a great measure, attribute the superior intelligence of the merchants of Halifax, in respect to all commercial matters.

Opposite to Halifax stands the pretty little town of Dartmouth. This place was first laid out and settled the year after Lord Cornwallis founded Halifax; but in 1756 it was destroyed, and most of the inhabitants massacred by the Indians. Twenty-eight years after, a colony of loyalists from Nantucket, who were brought up principally to the South Sea whale fishery, were induced to settle here by government, and L.1500 given to establish them. These people followed the whale-fishery for eight years with great success; but the failure of an extensive and

speculative mercantile house at Halifax, arrested their enterprise, and reduced them to poverty. Liberal offers were then made them, through an agent, by the merchants of Milford in Wales, which induced them to leave the province, and Halifax, consequently, lost the benefit that would have been derived from a probably very extensive and profitable whale-fishing.

Dartmouth has since that time, however, increased, slowly indeed, in population and in buildings. It has at present a neat church and school; and at a pretty cove close to it, the packet-ships that are established between Liverpool and Halifax, and the whale ships, were built. A fine new steam-boat and several ferry-boats ply between Halifax and Dartmouth, where the distance across is less than a mile, and the Shubenacady Canal joins the harbour near this place. There is also a pretty good road from Dartmouth, leading to the great western road. Two or three spots near this place are admirably adapted for patent slips or marine railways, which, from the rise and fall of tide in the harbour of Halifax being only six or seven feet, would be found of eminent convenience in graving or repairing ships.

The lands on the Dartmouth side of the harbour are much less stubborn, and more of a sandy loam character than those on the opposite side; and the industrious Germans, who are settled along the eastern passage, have long subjected them to fair and profitable cultivation.

CHAPTER IX.

Descriptive Sketches of the principal Settlements.

THE sea-board of the province, from Halifax to Yarmouth, like the whole of the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, presents a succession of innumerable headlands, small islands, bays, and harbours. It may be observed that nearly all the small harbours have a few inhabitants, deriving a tolerably comfortable living from the means of fishing and a little agriculture. The general character of this part of the country is rocky, often naked, and difficult of culture. But many spots of good land occur at the heads of the bays and up the rivers.

The first harbour east from Halifax is Sambro. It lies within the lighthouse, and affords good anchorage and shelter for vessels that are wind-bound after leaving Halifax. Its population are fishermen.

St Margaret's Bay lies twenty miles to the westward of Sambro. It is less than two miles at the entrance, six wide inside, and fourteen long. Its shores are indented with several fine harbours.

The soil is rocky but fertile, and many parts are subjected to profitable cultivation by the industry of the settlers, (about nine hundred,) who are the descend-

ants of Germans and of some French Huguenots. The country surrounding this magnificent bay, as the uncultivated parts are in most places covered with woods, is picturesque and beautiful. Various streams run into this place, which abound with salmon, trout, gaspereau, &c.

Mahon Bay is separated from that of St Margaret by the lofty peninsula of Aspotogan. This bay, the scenery of which, for picturesque grandeur, is not surpassed by any landscape in America, is about ten miles broad and twelve deep; and contains within it a multitude of beautiful wooded islands, which were probably never counted, but said to exceed two hundred. Many of these are appropriated to pasturage, and admirably adapted for raising sheep. One of the largest, Tancook, has a population of about 200 inhabitants, subsisting principally by agriculture. There are many excellent harbours within this bay, and three or four rivers, on which there are several saw-mills, and two or three grist-mills.

The harbour and village of Chester is the most considerable place within this bay. It was first settled by people from New England, who afterwards abandoned the place. The Germans, who succeeded them, were industrious, and secured independence to themselves, and the prosperity of the settlement. The population of the bay amounts to about two thousand, who are chiefly employed in agriculture, and preparing lumber at the saw-mills for exportation. They own several schooners and sloops, in which they export the produce of their industry.

Near the entrance of Mahon Bay, on the western side, lies the harbour of Lunenburg ; it was formerly called Malagash or Merliguesh. After the settlement of Halifax, government held out, by proclamation, inducements to German Protestants to remove to Nova Scotia ; in consequence of which, one thousand seven hundred and forty-five German and Swiss emigrants arrived at Halifax in the course of three years. Malagash was fixed upon as the most judicious place to locate them, and its name changed to Lunenburg. They were accordingly removed from Halifax to this place, and immediately commenced clearing the ground of the trees, erecting habitations, and building block-houses to defend them against the savages.

Although government supplied these people with provisions for three years, and with about seventy head of horned cattle, one thousand sheep, and one hundred pigs, and upwards of one hundred and fifty goats, yet the misery they suffered, arising from the hostility of the Indians, prevented their prosperity until 1760. They could not venture singly the least distance into the woods without being murdered ; and several of these men were scalped or carried off by the savages.

From the time of the peace, which secured them against the Indians, the inhabitants of Lunenburg industriously advanced in agriculture, and such other pursuits as necessity or their means directed. They extended their improvements, erected saw and grist-mills ; and all their necessary wants and comforts were considered secure, when they were once more

reduced nearly to ruin in 1782, by the depredations of six American privateers, which entered the harbour, and plundered all the property they could lay hold of, and also compelled the inhabitants to sign a bond for the payment of a thousand pounds, to prevent the burning of the town. The peace of next year relieved them from further apprehensions, and left them to their industrious occupations.

Lunenburg at present contains about one hundred and forty dwelling-houses, besides stores, and about twelve hundred inhabitants. It is built on a most commanding situation; its harbour is about a mile in length, and has sufficient water for large vessels; its trade is not carried on with great spirit, but it is conducted with steady perseverance and economy. The smaller vessels are employed in the fisheries, the larger ones in carrying fish and lumber to the West Indies, and one or two in carrying timber to Liverpool, and bringing back salt and fishing-tackle. There are sixteen or seventeen square-rigged vessels, and several schooners and shallops, belonging to this place. The aspect of the town of Lunenburg is unlike that of the other towns in the province: the style of the houses is truly Dutch, but the outsides are generally painted either red, white, orange, or green. The arrangements of the interior, with every regard, however, to substantial comfort, are also peculiar,—strong clumsy furniture, old Dutch clocks, looking-glasses, chimney ornaments, and old pictures, which seem intended to outrage the rules of perspective, hold their position among modern English

carpets and curtains. The close German stove, and the custom of sleeping between two feather beds, are also preserved as necessary in-door comforts; and the inhabitants are still much the same honest, industrious, and unceremonious people, that their ancestors were. They still talk German, and so do all the children; but while we cannot but regard the feeling that cherishes an affection for a language in which all their early ideas and associations have been conceived, yet, isolated as they are from the country in which it is the language of literature and science, a tenacious adherence to it will prevent their attaining the same knowledge as the other inhabitants of the province. They must, however, be considered as forming a most useful and decent portion of the population of the province, with means sufficient and ample to render their condition comfortable and happy.

La Have, a few miles to the westward, is one of the largest rivers in Nova Scotia, and is settled principally by Germans or their descendants. There are from sixteen to eighteen saw-mills, and some grist-mills on this fine river; the lands are generally good; and its harbour is the principal timber port on the coast. Several islands lie at the entrance.

Port Medway, lying some miles to the westward of this place, is also a port where timber is shipped, and on its rivers there are several saw-mills.

Liverpool is the second town in the province, and is situated on a harbour of the same name, distant eighty miles west from Halifax. It was formerly called Port Rossignol after the French gentleman

of that name, already mentioned, who was established in this place, and driven from it during the French government. On an island at the entrance, there is an excellent lighthouse ; but the harbour, which never freezes over, and which in other respects is convenient and safe, has a bar across the entrance, covered only with nine feet water at ebb, and fifteen feet at full tide ; there is safe anchorage, however, three miles below, at Herring Cove. Those who first settled in this place came from New England : like others at that period, their miseries were for some years severe ; persevering intrepidity, however, overcame great difficulties, and secured their independence. It is at present the most imposing country town in the province. The houses are not only large and handsome, but the interior arrangements are comfortable and respectable. It has a court-house, jail, fort, an English church, one Methodist, and one Baptist meeting-house, a respectable grammar school, about two hundred private buildings, and a great number of wharfs. The inhabitants have from fifty to sixty vessels, principally ships, brigs, and large schooners, besides shallops and small craft. They trade with England and the West Indies, and several schooners go to the fisheries at Labrador. There is a cove and fine beach at Coffin's Island, where most of their fish is dried.

During the last war, this place fitted out more privateers than all the other parts of the province. They were very successful in making captures, which produced a temporary source of wealth, that

probably did no real good to the inhabitants: certainly none, when we are made acquainted with the number of widows, and of fatherless children, that became such in consequence.

The lands adjoining the town, and for a long way back, are remarkably stubborn and rocky; but the industry of the inhabitants has subjected many spots to cultivation. The salmon-fishery, though much decreased; the convenience of the place for the cod, herring, and mackerel-fisheries; the lumber, for export, either in square logs, or in deal boards, or scantling, which is flooded down from the interior country by the river Mersey and its lakes, are means abundantly sufficient to secure the prosperity of this place. There is a communication by water, with little interruption, for canoes, from Liverpool to Annapolis, by the river Mersey and a chain of lakes. The Indians frequently cross the country by this route. Above the town there is a bridge over the river, built on piles, and nearly four hundred yards long; it is the only toll in the province. There is another bridge of one hundred yards, over the river at the cataract, a few miles farther up.

Shelburne Harbour, perhaps the finest in America, lies about forty miles west of Liverpool; there are several small settlements in this distance; and on Roseway, or M'Nutt's Island, at the entrance of Shelburne, there is a good lighthouse. The settlement of this place was attempted by several persons connected with one Alexander M'Nutt, who planted themselves on the western shore, and piously gave it

the name of New Jerusalem. They wholly failed in the terms of settlement, and the lands reverted to the crown.

The lands surrounding Shelburne are rocky, and difficult to cultivate. The river Roseway, which falls into it, issues from a chain of lakes in the interior; and although it is often broken in its course, oak and juniper, of durable quality for ship-building, are floated down its stream. Various kinds of fish frequent this harbour; and near its entrance an extensive fishery might be established.

The celebrity of Shelburne, however, rests not on its present, but its past condition. In 1783, twelve thousand loyalists arrived from the United States, and injudiciously fixed on a spot near the head of Port Roseway for a town, which governor Parr named Shelburne. Its situation is certainly pleasant and well sheltered, and the water deep. But being ten miles from the entrance, it was too far from the fisheries: wanting roads and navigable rivers, it had no communication with the interior; and the adjoining country being uncultivated and without inhabitants, it could only be supplied with grain, meat, and vegetables, from a great distance. The harbour also freezes over during winter.

A spacious town was, however, immediately laid out, the streets opened, and magnificent houses, capable of lodging all the civilians; and barracks for several regiments of soldiers, were erected. In short, a splendid town rose instantaneously, as if reared by the wand of a magician, rather than by

the labour of masons and carpenters. Wanting, however, those advantages without which no town can thrive, Shelburne, as might reasonably be expected, declined rapidly.

These men were infatuated with the beauty of the harbour alone ; they knew not then the inconvenience of its being remote from all the other settlements ; their previous pursuits unfitted them for the incessant labours of fishing or farming ; their wealth was acquired either by commerce, or it descended to them by easier channels ; neither their constitutions nor their ideas were calculated to surmount the difficulties which were inevitably connected with their situation ; yet they vainly imagined that splendid buildings and elegant society would attract the intrepid and the industrious to their town from all parts of the province : that it would become the metropolis of Nova Scotia, sink Halifax into obscurity, and command a great trade. Not one of these brilliant expectations was realized. These respectable but ill-fated men dissipated property and money, amounting in value to half a million, in two years. Most of them returned afterwards to the United States ; the remainder transplanted themselves to other parts of the province.

The present population of Shelburne, and its environs, is not considered more than five hundred. The ruined state of the place—streets overrun with grass, long weeds, and shrubs ; tall houses, with broken windows, the floors fallen in, doors ajar, or broken off their hinges, ceiling broken, and walls

moulding or covered with green moss ; a churchyard, now seldom disturbed by the grave-digger, and a *tout ensemble* picture of desolation, present characteristics which would seem to mark a city depopulated by plague or famine, rather than a town once the abode of wealthy and genteel families. The interior country is said to be fertile in many places, and watered with many fine streams. There are also several small lakes lying between it and St Mary's Bay.

A few miles west of Shelburne Harbour is Cape Negro Harbour, sheltered by a high island of the same name. It forms the *embouchure* of Clyde river, which, next to Annapolis river, is considered the most beautiful in the province, and winds forty miles through the country. It is finely wooded, and has a Welsh agricultural settlement on its banks, but many of the inhabitants follow fishing as well as farming.*

Barrington Harbour lies within Cape Sable Island. It was first settled by the French ; afterwards by whale fishers from Nantucket, who again left it ; and then by fishermen from Cape Cod, who remained. Cod-fishing has from that period been their chief pursuit. There are about seventy vessels owned at the village or township of Barrington.

The soil is barren, but several rivers, issuing from lakes, run into the harbour, by which timber for ship-building is conducted from the interior. The inhabitants attend partially to grazing and agriculture.

Pubnico, which is an excellent safe harbour, lies

* Note G.

some miles to the north, after passing several rugged islands, towards the Bay of Fundy. Its inhabitants, as well as those of the neighbouring village at Eel Brook, are principally industrious well-behaved Acadians. The right to the eel-fishery was long a matter of great dispute between them and the Indians.

At the east side of Townshend, or Argyle Bay, lies Argyle, within the Tusket Isles, probably three hundred in number, which form innumerable harbours. Tusket River spreads into different branches, passes through lakes, and affords excellent situations for farms and improvements. This is a very valuable and beautiful part of the province, and a fine agricultural district commences here, which extends to the Basin of Minas.

The first settlers after the banishment of the Acadians from Tusket, were loyalists and disbanded soldiers, who suffered the evils of poverty for many years ; but they, or their descendants, have now good farms, well stocked with cattle. The Acadian settlers at Tusket, about two hundred families, are an orderly people, in tolerably good circumstances. They have a neat chapel, amidst a beautiful grove of oak-trees, in which the Abbé Segoigne officiates occasionally.

At the harbour of Jebogue there is a populous settlement ; the inhabitants are the descendants of people from New England, who removed there on account of its immense marsh, and its convenience for the fisheries. It was previously settled by Acadians.

Yarmouth, or Cape Fourchè Harbour, is the principal and most thriving place in this part of the pro-

vince. Its harbour is safe, and the channel deep, up to the town or village of Yarmouth; but when it ebbs, there remain extensive mud flats between the channel and the shore, which render it disagreeable, and even difficult, to land until the tide covers them. This is indeed common to some of the finest harbours, in other respects, in America. Some miles up the river, near the falls or rapids, is a very pretty village called Milburn. The interruption of the navigation in the river, occasioned by this fall, was tried to be obviated by means of a lock, but this has been abandoned. Yarmouth and its neighbourhood contain an industrious population of about four thousand five hundred inhabitants, who possess about seventy vessels, and large stocks of cattle. This part of the country is remarkably beautiful; and the scenery, marked with hills, woods, rivers, and a vast number of lakes, is exceedingly picturesque. The climate is also more temperate than in the other parts of the province.

St Mary's Bay is a spacious inlet, about thirty-five miles deep, and from four to ten miles broad. Cape St Mary's, on the south, and Brier Island, on the north, are the points that form its entrance. Brier Island, on which there is a miserable light-house, Long Island, in the same range, and a peninsula called Digby Neck, separate it from the Bay of Fundy. These places are all rocky, and their soil appears forbidding, but they were settled many years ago by industrious loyalists, who follow fishing and farming. There is a safe channel between Brier Island and

Long Island, and another between the latter and the land. These islands lie in a range with the peninsula, and the channels, or guts, passing obliquely between them, occasion the whole to appear, when sailing up the Bay of Fundy, as a connected country from Annapolis Gut, or rather Patrick's Hole near it, to Brier Island. The lands of the peninsula, on being subjected to cultivation, are much more fertile than they appear to be.

At the head of the bay there is a very large marsh; and the shores, to the pretty village of Weymouth, twelve miles below at Sissiboo river, are settled by farmers; opposite to this settlement a town was laid out, and named New Edinburgh, by Governor Parr, which, like many others similarly planned, has never been built.

The Sissiboo is a beautiful rapid river, which receives the waters of several lakes and smaller streams; but it is only navigable for four or five miles from the sea.

Along the south side of St Mary's Bay, extending nearly thirty miles towards Yarmouth, lies Clare, which contains a population of about four thousand four hundred Acadians, the descendants of those neutrals who were formerly banished from the province, but who returned, as soon as they were allowed, to the country dear to their hearts from early affection. While in exile, they often visited Nova Scotia in small shallops, which they built at Massachusetts; and on being allowed, after repeated applications for leave, to return, they immediately removed to this

part of the country, where they have settled and prospered. They certainly occupy a fine portion of the province, the lands of which are fertile, and on the shores of which the sea throws up abundant manures to enrich it when necessary. Fish also swarm round the shores; and although the Acadians principally depend upon agriculture, they are also fishermen occasionally, and carry the overplus produce of the soil and fishing across the Bay of Fundy to sell at St John's. All their wants are easily supplied; and, happy, contented, and unambitious, retaining the habits and customs, language and religion, of their fathers, they seem to have nothing to wish for, and thus probably enjoy as much happiness as human nature will admit.

The main post road leading from Annapolis to Yarmouth passes through Clare. There are two chapels, one not far from each extremity of this long settlement. The easternmost, which is the largest, will contain about two thousand five hundred persons; its altar is a very splendid one. Here lives, and here has resided for about thirty years, a man whom the demon of revolution drove from France. In that country he was born, and there did he receive that education, and acquire those manners, which, by being superinduced on a pure heart and sound head, constitute the worth of the amiable and venerable Abbé Segoigne. This excellent curé is the priest, the comforter, the lawyer, and judge of all the Acadians of Clare and Tusket. As their lawyer, or rather notary, he keeps their records, writes their deeds,

notes, and contracts; while his opinion as their judge, and his advice as their priest and father, convince his flock of the evils of litigation, from which they are taught to fly as from pestilence. Woe be to the pockets of the lawyers of Nova Scotia, if each settlement in the province had an Abbé Segoigne for its pastor, and inhabitants that respected his advice.

Since M. Segoigne retired to this peaceable and secluded settlement, he has only been once at Halifax, and only two or three times at the adjoining town of Digby. The urbanity of manner, and the polish which distinguished the gentlemen of the old French school, are truly those of the Abbé; yet for him the world has no allurement to fascinate his thoughts from the calm, pious, cheerful, and useful life, which has diffused so much happiness among the Acadians.

All the changes, politics, and vexations of the world, are unknown to him; and he has probably no further connexion out of Clare and Tusket with his own church, than an occasional letter from the Catholic bishop of Quebec or Halifax. He speaks the Indian language fluently; and the Micmacs regard him with the utmost veneration. The greater part of his flock have been born, or have grown up, under him, while he has been among them; and a few are accompanying him in the decline of his well-spent life. To him, with reverence and love, all look up for comfort in their afflictions, for advice in their mutual difficulties, and for the settlement of their little disputes.

One of those tremendous fires which make such fearful ravages in America, nearly destroyed the district of Clare in 1823. The chapel, and most of the houses and corn-fields, were consumed ; and M. Segoigne had one of his hands severely burnt, while pushing through the fire to save the boxes which contained the land-titles, and other records of the inhabitants. This calamity was inevitably the cause of much distress and poverty, which the Acadians have since completely overcome.

Annapolis Basin is the next inlet after leaving St Mary's Bay. Its communication with the Bay of Fundy is by a narrow gut or strait, which is formed by a precipitous chasm, the appearance of which impresses the idea of a tremendous explosion having blown away the rocks and other materials which previously occupied the space now open, and which formerly maintained an unbroken coast from St Mary's Bay to the Basin of Minas. It lies nearly south from St John's River ; and on entering through this strait from the Bay of Fundy, one of the most beautiful havens in America opens to view. Besides the waters of several small rivers, it receives also those of the largest in Nova Scotia, and of one of the most beautiful rivers in America, which flows and fertilizes the country for about sixty miles, in a direction nearly parallel to the Bay of Fundy.

Three miles above the lighthouse, at the entrance of the strait, on the west side, and in a most charming situation on the declivity of a hill, stands the town of Digby. It contains a court-house, church,

Methodist chapel, and about a hundred private houses and shops. The inhabitants, who are industrious American loyalists, or their offspring, employ themselves in building vessels in the mackerel and herring-fishery, and trading in the produce of the country and imported goods. The fame of the small fat smoked or red Digby herrings, or, as they are humorously called, "Digby Chickens," has spread over the continent of America. The Indians also shoot vast numbers of porpoises about the gut.

Above Digby, a beautiful farming district named Clements, inhabited principally by loyalists and Germans, extends to Annapolis. On the opposite or north side of the basin, lies the rich and well-cultivated township of Grenville.

The town of Annapolis, once the *Port Royal* and metropolis of the province, and the oldest European settlement in North America, is situated on a point formed by the Annapolis and the little river Le Quille.

De Monts, and his associates, delighted with its situation, chose it for a place of residence in 1604; and, unlike nearly all those of the other early settlements attempted in America by Europeans, its first inhabitants succeeded, at the same time, in establishing themselves, and in securing the regards of the Indians, who continued ever friendly to the French in Acadia.

The natural beauty of the situation of Port Royal, which exhibited the primeval wildness of America in all its silvan luxuriance and solitude, was fully

equal to all the colouring and embellishments of Lescarbot's description. Various circumstances, however, prevented its rising to the same importance as the other towns planted by France. Its vicinity to the English settlements at New York, the cupidity of the French commandants, whose object was to accumulate fortunes by the fur trade, and its changing masters so frequently, were the leading causes of it never containing more than one hundred houses, or more than one thousand two hundred inhabitants; nor is it ever likely to increase or flourish beyond the condition of a thriving and beautiful village. Halifax is, and will ever continue to be, the metropolis of Nova Scotia. Digby, which has sprung up as a town within the last fifty years, is much larger; commands the advantage of being about ten miles nearer the sea, and more contiguous to the herring-fishery within the strait; while Bridgetown, another thriving village, lately built at the head of the navigation, receives the agricultural productions of the interior, and carries them off direct, past Annapolis, to a market. The multiplicity of small towns in this, as well as in all parts of America, will ever prevent any of them attaining great prosperity or magnitude, unless it be those, like Halifax, New York, Quebec, Montreal, and St John's, which inherit from nature extraordinary and commanding advantages.

Annapolis was not only the metropolis of the province, while under the dominion of France, but continued so until the building of Halifax, in 1750. It was called Port Royal by France, and named Anna-

polis by England, in honour of Queen Anne; during whose reign, as has been already observed, it was finally ceded to England. The first governors and their officers resided here, as often as the country changed its masters; and many of the most interesting subjects relating to the history of the province are connected with Port Royal, or Annapolis.

At present it contains about fifty or sixty good dwelling-houses, shops, stores, and out-houses; and, *cæteris paribus*, a court-house, church, Episcopal and Methodist chapels. It has also a respectable seminary of education, supported partly by L.200 from the legislature. The government buildings and fortifications are rapidly decaying and mouldering away; and, as far as common sense or utility are concerned, why should that process of nature which occasions their destruction be arrested? The Indians are no longer either powerful or ferocious; nor under the influence of men who possess the talents, or who make it a doctrine of their order, to uphold whatever they consider necessary to increase its interest or power. The Acadians are no longer the neutrals, who, with filial affection, clung, however wrongly, to the crown, which early impressions taught them to obey as a matter of duty, and as a point of faith.

The government grounds, which encompass the town, and which are not of the least utility to the crown, but which would be of great benefit to the inhabitants, if granted to farmers, or otherwise disposed of, the officers' residences, store, and barracks, might be either left as they are, or more usefully

appropriated by selling them with the grounds they occupy, and the money applied to the use of the academy in the town.

There are two roads leading from Annapolis to Halifax. The mail road leads through some of the most flourishing settlements in the province. The other new road, opened principally with the view of settling the country, passes through the Dalhousie settlement of disbanded soldiers. The steam-packet for St John's also starts from this place twice a-week, calling at Digby; and a mail coach, built in the American style, runs three times a-week between Annapolis and Halifax. Post roads lead also from it to all the western settlements; and by the way of Yarmouth to Shelburne.

Fishes of various kinds, such as shad, bass, salmon, and particularly herring, frequent Annapolis Basin in vast shoals. They arrive at different times of the season, are of different sizes, and are principally caught in weirs, on the shore of Clements. An account of this fishery will be found where the fisheries of the province are treated of under a general head.

About seven miles from Annapolis, on a stream called Moose River, an iron-foundery was established by a company under the protection of a legislative charter. The ore is excellent, and the company have been at great expense in erecting buildings, and building a very handsome stone bridge across the river. The price of labour, and perhaps more particularly the advantage of coal, which the mining establish-

ment at Pictou possesses, will likely prevent, at least for some time, the success of this establishment.

The river Annapolis, up to its source, presents as beautiful a country as any part of America. The Acadians, attracted by its rich alluvial lands, had extensive farms on its banks. After their removal, these places, as well as all the best lands, were rapidly settled; and rich meadows, well-cultivated fields, orchards, substantial dwelling-houses, and large barns, grist, and saw-mills, are the leading characteristics with which industry has embellished this extensive district of Nova Scotia.

About fourteen miles above Annapolis, at a bridge which crosses the river, and marks the head of its tide navigation, a pretty thriving village has sprung suddenly up within the last few years, through which the agricultural produce of the interior must naturally pass. It has already its English church, a Baptist, and a Methodist meeting-house, an academy, about sixty dwelling-houses, stores, shops, mills, taverns, and smithies.

The lands lying between Annapolis River and the Bay of Fundy, form a high ridge from Digby Gut to Minas Basin. This tract is settled by industrious families, who have in general excellent farms under fair cultivation. This district of country, about 70 miles in extent, and occupying the fronts of the townships of Grenville, Wilmot, and Aylesford, and part of Cornwallis, has no harbour on the Bay of Fundy. A pier was built at Wilmot to remedy this inconvenience, which appears to answer the purpose. The

River Annapolis has been cleared of such obstructions as impeded the rafting of timber down to Bridgetown.

The Basin of Minas is one of the two great branches of the Bay of Fundy. It is one of the most beautiful inlets at full tide, and one of the most remarkable at low water, in North America. Its entrance is through a strait about three miles wide, with bold, abrupt shores ; within which it widens to from eight to sixteen miles, and, receiving the waters of upwards of twenty rivers and streams, extends about fifty miles to the head of Cobequid Bay.

The tides at full and change, rise from fifty to sixty feet, and recede so far as to leave the beds of the rivers, with the exception of the channels that carry down the fresh water, and many miles of the shores of the basin, dry. The flood-tide rushes in with inconceivable celerity, particularly when under the influence of the winds. The phenomenon called the " Bore," is the attendant, or rather the precursor, of the flood-tide, which approaches in a line of foam, extending across the bay, about four or five feet high, and rolling over the sands at the rate of four miles, or more, in an hour. These tides render the navigation dangerous to strangers, who often anchor in five or six fathoms water, sometimes on the steep bank of the channel, when in five or six hours they find their vessels lying dry, and in danger of rolling over if near the edge of the flats. Those, however, who are acquainted with the Bay of Fundy, and know where to anchor until the next flood, consider these

rapid tides very convenient, particularly when the winds are not fair.

The fertility of the alluvial lands ; the rich variety of landscapes, formed by luxuriant woods, lagoons, hills, dales, bays, rivers, and headlands, with several beautiful islands on the north side ; and the extensive farms, and thriving villages of this part of the province, give it a just claim to be classed with the delightful valley of Annapolis, and to be designated together, the Garden of the Province.

The shores of the Basin of Minas are parcelled off by no less than ten of those imaginary divisions called townships ; and which, in all other parts of North America, have some distinct meaning ; but which, in Nova Scotia, seem laid down on the map to perplex descriptions, or at least to render delineations of the country tame, tedious, and utterly uninteresting. We should describe places as we travel through them, or sail along their shores ; but these townships disregard all the natural features of the country, and being merely laid down on the maps which the surveyors have in their offices, their straight lines are made to cross rivers, valleys, mountains, lakes, forests, and often through settlements, without the least courtesy to the beautiful divisions or delineations of nature.

From the high abrupt headland of Cape Blomedon (or Blow-me-down), the shores bend south for twelve or fourteen miles to Cornwallis River. Three fine rivers intervene in this distance, the lands of which are inhabited, and the marshes diked. The River

Cornwallis, or Horton River, as it is named, from winding between these settlements, meanders, it is said, about thirty miles through a fertile and picturesque country. It is fringed with intervale land and diked marshes, which yield heavy crops. The river Gaspereau follows next, and falls into the same pretty bay, about three miles broad, as the last river. It is a rapid stream, flowing through a hilly, rugged part of the province, turning numerous grist and saw-mills, its banks well inhabited, and near its mouth skirted with valuable marshes. At the upper part there is a settlement called Canaan. Between it and the river Avon, there is another stream, called Half-way River, but properly it should retain the French name of Grand Prairie. The banks of this river were first settled by the Acadian French. Their principal village was Minas, between Grand Prè, or Grand Prairie, and the river Gaspereau. They raised dikes, and formed abbateux, which shut out the high tides of the basin from the marshes; these went to ruin after the Acadians were removed from the province.

The present inhabitants are chiefly the descendants of emigrants who were attracted to these places from Massachusetts by their great natural advantages, but more especially by the great improvements made by the banished Acadians, as well as the encouragement in the way of provisions given them by government.

From various causes, which judicious management might, it is said, have prevented, they suffered much distress for some years. No part of the province,

however, appears to be in a more thriving condition at the present time; vast meadows, corn-fields, gardens and orchards of great extent on every farm, producing delicious apples; good houses, herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, pigs, and poultry, forming the wealth of the inhabitants. There are altogether about seven thousand two hundred and fifty acres of diked land, besides intervales and salt marshes. The Wellington Dike cost about L.21,000, and Grand Prairie about L.10,000.

On these rivers there are also the thriving villages of Horton, Cornwallis, and Kentville, having one or two grammar schools, two English churches, two Presbyterian, three Methodist, one Independent, and five Baptist meeting-houses; twenty-three grist-mills, twenty saw-mills, and four or five other mills. The population of these settlements is in number about nine thousand. The rivers abound with salmon, trout, shad, gaspereau, and smelts.

The Avon is the largest river, unless it be the Shubenacady, which falls into the Basin of Minas. It spreads into three principal branches; the Windsor or Avon, the St Croix, and the Kennetcoot, besides numerous lesser streams.

The tides of the basin flow fifteen miles up, and cover at high water its sand and mud-banks, to the height of from thirty to forty feet. On the west side of the Avon lies the thriving and beautiful settlement of Falmouth; on the east, those of Newport. The river Cock-my-Gun, branches off for some miles to the east; and, three miles farther up, the Avon receives the

Kennetcoot, another splendid river, about thirty miles long. Four miles above, on the same side, the St Croix joins the Avon, and receives the vassal waters of numerous lakes and streams. The lands between the St Croix and Windsor River are remarkably beautiful, with luxuriant meadows and fertile uplands.

Windsor,* the shire town of the county of Hants, stands at the confluence of the Avon, Windsor, and St Croix rivers; and, except at low ebb, when the muddy bed of the rivers are exposed, it is one of the prettiest situations in the province. The Ardoise, Horton, and other highlands, form an amphitheatre, which, with the luxuriant woods, shelter the beautiful, picturesque valley of Windsor; and the rich dike-lands that fringe the St Croix and Avon rivers, have long been considered the most fertile in Nova Scotia. Along these rivers the Acadians had extensive improvements, and, previous to their banishment, they exported annually several cargos of wheat to Boston. The settlement and improvement of these lands were afterwards retarded for a long time, by injudicious grants to a few individuals. These lands, however, have gradually passed into other hands, and they have since been subdivided and cultivated. There is no bridge across the Avon at Windsor, but it is forded at low-water. Indeed, were it not for the great rise of tide; it would only be a pretty large stream. Some years ago an attempt was made, and abandoned, to

* Called Pesequid by the Acadians.

raise funds by lottery, to erect a bridge here, which will, however, be built ere long by other means.

Windsor is a neat and pretty built town, or rather village, with a church, Roman Catholic chapel, and a Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist meeting-house; also a Court-house, and of necessity a jail. We must not forget a good hotel. The private houses, about one hundred and thirty, are prettily built, and comfortable within, with large gardens and orchards attached; and the surrounding country exhibits extraordinary beauty and fertility.

On an elevated and beautiful spot of ground, a short distance from Windsor, and forty miles by a good carriage road west from Halifax, stands the University of King's College. It has a royal charter, dated 1802, which gives to it all the privileges that are enjoyed by the universities in Great Britain and Ireland. It is liberally endowed; has a respectable library; the Archbishop of Canterbury is its patron, and the Governor, Chief-Justice, Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, the President, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Secretary of the Province, compose, *ex officio*, a board of governors.

There is a water communication between Windsor and New Brunswick, and that province has hitherto sent a great proportion of the students to the college. The situation of King's College has been judiciously selected, in a central point of the province, and in a beautiful and pleasant part of the country, which

has a dry and salubrious climate. I have been informed that since the first opening of the institution, no instance of fatal sickness has occurred among the students.

A very respectable academy, built of free-stone, and called the Collegiate School, stands within the college grounds. The system of instruction at this seminary corresponds with the course of studies at the college; and this institution is in a very prosperous condition, having a numerous attendance of scholars from New Brunswick, and other places, as well as natives of Nova Scotia.

The great objection to it is, that students must subscribe to the thirty-nine articles; a monstrous regulation for a colony, the one-tenth of the inhabitants of which do not even profess to be members of the Church of England.*

The tract of country lying between the Avon and the river Shubenacady is tolerably well settled, and abounds in coal, gypsum, limestone, and slate. The river Shubenacady is a remarkably fine stream, passing through several lakes which intersect the country within a mile or two of Halifax Harbour; and which, when the canal now in rapid progress is completed, will open an inland navigation from the head of the Bay of Fundy to Halifax. Fertile and extensive intervals and diked marshes; beautiful and well-cultivated farms; excellent building free-stone, limestone, gypsum, coal, and other minerals,

* Note H.

abound along the banks of this river, and those of its numerous fine streams and lakes.

Truro, the most beautiful village in Nova Scotia, and, as far as my impressions go, the prettiest I have seen in America, is situated on the south side of Salmon River, and at the head of the Minas branch of the Bay of Fundy. Its marshes were diked by the Acadians; and soon after the removal of those people, Truro, or Cobequid, was settled under the auspices of a Coll M'Nutt, an emigrant agent, by families from Massachusetts, who came originally from Londonderry, in Ireland. They suffered great misery for some years. This was also the case with those who settled on the opposite side of the river, where the beautiful settlement of Onslow lies.

The private houses of Truro are really imposing and handsome in appearance, and convenient and comfortable within. The inhabitants are also intelligent and industrious. There is a court-house, jail, custom-house, post-office, church, and Presbyterian meeting-house. Through it the post road from Halifax passes, and branches to Pictou, and to the settlements of Cumberland. I think I am safe in saying that the inns at Truro are equal to any I know of in the province. From the adjoining eminences there are extensive, but not sublime prospects, although the views are exceedingly pleasing, rich, and varied. The diked lands are fertile, and agriculture forms the chief employment of the inhabitants. They have oil-mills, grist-mills, saw-mills, and fulling-mills.

The settlements of Onslow, Londonderry, Economy,

and Parsborough, occupy the northern shores of the Basin of Minas. Along this coast there are several pretty islands, and the country is interesting and tolerably well settled.

Onslow is a populous village, contains fertile lands, and one thousand four hundred acres of marsh meadows.

Londonderry was first populously settled by Acadians. Their private buildings and immense chapel were destroyed by the troops which were sent to disperse them. Its lands are richly wooded, with fertile meadows, and good uplands.

The settlement, or chain of settlements, called by the general name of Parsborough, occupies the coast of Minas Basin and the Bay of Fundy, from Economy to Point Chignecto. The lands are high, often rugged, but by no means unfertile.

The village of Parsborough, between which and Windsor a packet plies during summer, is a pretty little place, situated within a jutting, abrupt, and high headland. Good leading roads pass through these settlements, and they all appear to be in a flourishing condition.

A few miles north of Cape Chignecto, the basin so named, and sometimes called Beau Basin, forms another great branch of the Bay of Fundy, and receives several fine rivers, the largest of which, the Petit Coudiac, winds through the adjoining province. The Cumberland shores of this basin, as far as the point or ridge called on the map Boar's Back, are high, with several coves, and some alluvial tracts,

and rough, but fertile uplands. The diked marshes and meadows along the rivers at the head of this basin, present the most fertile character imaginable. Herds of cattle, stacks of hay, large barns, and good substantial farm houses, enrich this fertile portion of Nova Scotia.

The inhabitants are Yorkshiremen, and native descendants of Americans who left Massachusetts before the Revolution. They prefer grazing to raising grain, and send butter and cheese in great quantities to Halifax and St John's.

The river Missiquash, on the north side of which stood Fort Beau Sejour (now Fort Cumberland), and on the other was afterwards built Fort Lawrence, bounds the north-western extremity of Nova Scotia, which it here separates from New Brunswick.

The proposed canal from River Au Lac to Tidnish River, which would intersect the imaginary line which divides Nova Scotia from New Brunswick, and open a direct intercourse by water between the Gulf of St Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy, would doubtless be attended with great benefit and convenience, by obviating a circuitous and dangerous navigation. The best line has been surveyed by Mr Hall, a skilful engineer. The length is about eleven miles, and the expense, to make a canal navigable for vessels drawing eight feet water, estimated at about L.70,000.

The Bay of Vert is the most northerly inlet and boundary of Nova Scotia. Entering from the Gulf of St Lawrence, it contracts the country to an isthmus

of about ten miles over to Cumberland Basin. This bay is about twelve miles long, and from five to seven broad, with its shores flat and muddy, but pretty thickly settled. Nova Scotia claims but the south side.

River Phillip, a long winding stream, is the next place of any consequence on the Gulf shore, but not navigable for large vessels. It abounds with salmon, gaspereau, and other fish; and its fine lands have been long settled; but the lumber business has been too much followed, to the detriment of agricultural improvement. Several salt springs are found near it.

Pugwash River, or, as it has lately been called, Waterford, has the same *embouchure* as river Phillip, and is a fine river, navigable for large vessels; but having a bar, and a very crooked channel, a pilot is necessary. The timber trade, which has diverted the inhabitants from agriculture, has also retarded cultivation, and presents a striking contrast to the beautiful lands settled by Scotch Highlanders, lying along the shore between this place and the next harbours. The latter people, as well as those at Fox Harbour, were hardy, industrious emigrants from the Hebrides; ignorant, however, of improved methods of cultivating the soil, yet by adhering to rural labour, they have not only obtained a better livelihood than the lumberers, but they have good farms, with extensive clearings, which secure them against the evils of poverty.

Remsheg, which has lately changed its name to Port Wallace, is a good harbour, with two or three

small rivers, and one of considerable length falling into it. It was first settled with loyalists, some of whom afterwards left the place. The lands are excellent; but here again they have been too much neglected for the timber business. The freestone, of which the Province Building of Halifax is constructed, was quarried a few miles up Remsheg River, vast quantities of which exist at the same place. Herrings and gaspereau are very plentiful in these harbours. Salmon, shad, eels, lobsters, &c. abound.

A few miles to the southward is Tatmagouche Bay, which is broad and open; and, although the water is deep, exposed to north-easterly winds. It is also a port for shipping timber, and the lands are good and pretty well settled.

From the south side of Tatmagouche, the River John, over which there is a good bridge, branches off. This pretty thriving settlement was settled many years ago by Swiss Protestants; they endured a train of severe hardships from the time they left their native country, until they attained the means of comfort where they or their descendants now live.*

* There is some interest attached to the history of these families. When, after the peace of 1763, the dread of these kingdoms being depopulated by emigrations to America was entertained very generally, the conditions of grants of large tracts of land, in Nova Scotia and in the colonies we acquired by conquest, stipulated that they should be settled on by foreign Protestants. The Swiss, here alluded to, were brought either to Portsmouth or Plymouth, by an officer who received a grant of lands in Nova Scotia; but being unable, or unwilling, to fulfil his engagements with them, he there abandoned them. Their destitute condition came under the consi

There is a pretty good road from this place, about eighteen miles to Pictou. The coast along the shore, about twenty miles, to the harbour of Carraboo, is settled by Scotch, chiefly from the Hebrides.

Pictou harbour is one of the best within the Gulf of St Lawrence. It is narrow at the entrance, well sheltered, with seventeen feet depth of water at the lowest ebb; deep and safe within, and sufficiently capacious for more than a thousand ships. Three fine rivers, which wind through a fertile country, branch from the basin, a little above the town. The harbour is, however, frozen over from the last week or end of December, to the beginning or end of April; this is its only disadvantage.

The town of Pictou stands on the declivity of a hill, on the north side of the harbour, and about three miles from its entrance. It is irregularly built, without any plan. Every one who erected a house, since the year 1790, when the first hut inhabited by an European raised its head, planted it where he could, and of dimensions and plan according to his fancy. Its situation is very agreeable. The point of land, called Mortimer's, above the town, with stores and wharfs near the shore, and with a large and very respectable stone house some distance back; Fisher's Grant being a range of farms opposite the

deration of government, and they were sent to Nova Scotia at the public expense. I believe these are the leading points relative to their removal to Nova Scotia; but I only write from my recollection of the account given me, by one of the oldest and most respectable of them, some years ago.

town; other fine clearings around the harbour; the *embouchures* of three rivers; and the hilly wooded background of Mount Toum, are interesting and picturesque features in the surrounding scenery. The hill above the town commands a very extensive and truly grand view of farms, houses, the harbour, Gulf of St Lawrence, and forest country.

The town contains at the present time an Episcopal church, two Presbyterian kirks, a Catholic chapel, and a court-house; about two hundred dwelling-houses, stores, and other buildings, and about sixteen hundred inhabitants. Pictou has also an excellent grammar school, and an academy called "Pictou College," where the highest branches of education are taught, and to which students of any Christian denomination are admitted. This institution owes its existence to the Reverend Dr M'Culloch, a gentleman of superior acquirements, learning, and abilities. It contains a commodious class-room, a library of good standard works; a laboratory, with philosophical apparatus, printing-press, &c.; and a museum, in which is to be found the only zoological collection worth mentioning of the natural history of the province. The department of ornithology is nearly complete, and the birds remarkably well stuffed and preserved. It is to be regretted that the academy has met with very uncharitable opposition, and I believe the fund given to aid its support has been withdrawn.

The settlement of the district of Pictou commenced

by the arrival of a few families from Maryland in 1765, which were sent by a company who received a very extensive grant of land known in the province by the name of the "Philadelphia Grant." At the head of this company was Dr Weatherspoon, a man celebrated at the time in colonial story. These people, although they received some assistance in the way of provisions, endured great misery for some years; and thirty families of Highlanders who joined them afterwards, underwent almost incredible difficulties, in consequence of arriving late in the season, having no houses to shelter them, wanting provisions, the general wilderness state at that time of this part of the province, and its great distance from the nearest settlement.*

In the course of a few years, however, great perseverance enabled them to secure the means of living comfortably; and, from that period, this part of the country has continued to improve regularly in its settlement and agriculture; and the port has also continued to be a great *point d'appui* for emigrant ships leaving the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. Settlements consequently extended up the rivers, and along the shores to the north and south-east; and Pictou therefore derives its importance from being the centre of all the intercourse and trade, as well as

* The first settlers had often, during winter, to cross the country, a distance of nearly fifty miles through the woods, for what little food they could drag back on a hand-sledge, to sustain the lives of their wives and children.

the port of entry, for that part of Nova Scotia lying between the Gut of Canseau and the Bay de Vert.

It was some time ago declared, by an order in council, a free port; and lately, in consequence of the benefit that would probably arise from allowing the Americans to bring articles of United States' growth in their ships, in return for the coal which they require from the Albion mines, it has also been declared a free warehousing port.

The inhabitants of the town of Pictou are remarkably industrious. Fishing, ship-building, shipping timber, coal, &c., have for many years formed their principal resources of enterprise. Their incessant perseverance merits great praise; and although the heavy and visionary speculations in shipping, carried on in the memorable year 1825 in England, was grievously felt by the merchants and traders of this place, yet their usual industry and economy will soon, it is likely, enable them to surmount those losses, and prosper by less speculative pursuits.

Several ships still arrive annually at Pictou for timber, most of which finish their lading at the neighbouring outports. There are also some vessels employed in the West India trade, and several schooners and shallops in the coasting trade, and fisheries.

A packet sails weekly between Pictou and Charlotte Town, Prince Edward Island; the distance is about forty miles. Few places in America are more unlike than these two. Charlotte Town is nearly twice the size, and the houses are scattered over five times the same ground as those of Pictou. Charlotte

Town is infinitely a cleaner place ; the houses have also in general an air of greater gentility ; the inhabitants are more fashionably dressed, have more the appearance of people who have either never been engaged in active industrious pursuits, or who have retired with small incomes to a country where they can live very cheaply. In Pictou again, the houses are closely huddled together, some of them built of stone, scarcely any of them with taste or beauty ; they have a smoky appearance, and cleanliness is a most striking desideratum ; but the place has vastly more the air of activity, industry, and trade. The wharfs, stores, and the *tout ensemble*, indicate a prevailing spirit of enterprise. Charlotte Town has nothing of this.

The town, and whole district of Pictou, are decidedly Scottish. In the streets, within the houses, in the shops, on board the vessels, and along the roads, we hear little but Gaelic or broad Scotch. The Highland dress, the bagpipe, and Scottish music, are also more general in this part of the province than probably in any other part of the country ; while the red gowns of the students, which we observe waving here and there like streamers, bring the colleges of Aberdeen and Glasgow, with their associations, into recollection.

Pictou has also a share of its distinction, from being the place in which the synod of the Presbyterian church of Nova Scotia is held. Presbyterianism, indeed, as respects the present British American colonies, may be said to have been first planted in this district. The late Rev. Dr James M'Gregor,

who left the comforts of a British home, in 1786, to seek toil and privation amidst the forests of Nova Scotia, may justly be considered the father of the Presbyterian church of the province. This venerable and excellent man, who died lately, (1830,) was peculiarly adapted for a country like Nova Scotia. He arrived in it when it was little more than a continued wilderness. He lived to see it extensively cultivated, and in most parts settled, with roads opened between the settlements, and schools generally established over the province. He had none of the bigotry of sectarians ; he mixed cheerfully with all men ; the wicked he endeavoured to reclaim, but never attempted to promulgate religious dissensions, nor ever to wound the feelings of any on account of their difference of creed. He was, in short, in his own line of duty, the most harmless and most useful of men.

When we arrive as strangers in Pictou, and behold its extraordinary natural advantages, the excellence of its harbour, the fertility of the adjoining country, its vast mines of iron and coal, with limestone, and excellent freestone for building, and the convenience of the place for the rich fisheries of the Gulf of St Lawrence, it is truly painful, if not disgusting, to discover soon after, that society has, for the last few years, been in a state of the most violent agitation, principally from the passion for religious ascendency, probably as much from fanciful individual vanity : when we also find that the very parties who render themselves so truly ridiculous in the cool judgment of reasonable minds, differ, not in doctrines of faith,

but in some unimportant matter or form of church government, we are still more disgusted at squabbles that cannot possibly originate from honest religious principles or Christian charity. Which of the parties have the best pretensions, it is not, even if it were possible, (which I doubt,) my object to determine; but it is certainly much to be regretted that the harmony which, it is said, prevailed so long among the Presbyterians of the province, should be disturbed, and that such violent animosities should convulse the minds of a population that have such ample scope for being so much better, so much more usefully engaged.*

The lands, a great part of which is intervale, through which the west river of Pictou winds for about sixteen miles, are fertile and extensively cultivated. The middle river is a small stream, but its banks are well settled and improved.

The east river, which divides into two principal streams, flows through a beautiful, fertile, and populous settlement. Six miles up this river, a village, with a few shops and taverns, in the form of a small American town, called New Glasgow, has risen within

* Much has been said of Roman Catholic bigotry and intolerance. I have not been able to discover a solitary instance of the clergy of that church interfering with the professors of a different creed, nor endeavouring to disseminate quarrels or agitations among them; while I regret to have to observe that the Presbyterians who consider themselves in immediate connexion with the Kirk of Scotland, and the Anti-burghers, who, in fact, believe precisely the same doctrines, maintain frequently towards each other the most angry spirit of illiberality.

the last few years. It receives and exports a great part of the agricultural produce of the upper country, and vessels of about one hundred tons come up to the bridge which crosses the town at this place.

A mile above this village, on the west side of the river, close to Mount Rundel, are the coal and iron mining works of the General Mining Company. This establishment is named the " Albion Mines ;" and the company, which was formed in London in 1826, holds for sixty years, on certain conditions, from the crown, the right of working all the mines of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, with the exception of those that may be found in a few tracts which have been granted without reserving the mines to the Crown. The Annapolis Mining Company, which commenced working previously on a small scale on land held by one of these grants, is the only mining establishment in the province that does, or likely will, in any way compete with the Albion Company.

The operations of the last association have been commenced and conducted under the direction of Mr Richard Smith, a gentleman of scientific abilities and experience.

At the Albion Mines there are smithy furnaces and two steam-engines at work. Stores and several dwelling-houses have also been erected. The coal formerly dug up was from near the surface, but the main shaft of the mine worked at present is sunk two hundred and fifty feet deep, and the coal is raised and the mine drained by steam power. The coal of this mine is not esteemed so much as that of Cape

Breton for common fireplaces, but it is much superior for making coke, and equal to any ever used for the furnace, and particularly as fuel for steam-engines. Iron ore, equal to the very best Swedish, is abundantly interstratified with coal in the same mine.

The Pictou coal is much esteemed by the citizens of the United States, and their ships come to the Albion mines for it. This company are also about building one or more steam-boats, for purposes connected with their establishments; since they commenced their operations, a marked spirit of industry, activity and improvement, has spread over the vale of the east river.

Some may object to the extensive privilege granted to the Albion Mining Company, but not with good reason, when we consider the vast investment of capital necessary to form extensive establishments, and to carry forward the operations of mining, and that the province generally, and this part of it in particular, must derive vast advantage from the spirited exertions of this association.

Miragamichi is the next harbour to the eastward of Pictou. It has a bar across the entrance, but there is water over it for large vessels. The settlers are principally Scotch Highlanders. From this place to Cape George,* a distance of thirty miles, and from thence round to Dorchester, at the head of Antigonishe Bay, the lands are high, but fertile, and thickly settled by Highlanders, among whom Gaelic continues to be

* Note J

the language of common usage; and at the settlement of Arisaig, on the Gulf shore side of this part of the country, a traveller can discover nothing in language, habits, dress, and Highland hospitality, that differs from what he would find in Arisaig, in the Western Highlands of Scotland, from whence that of Nova Scotia derives its name.

The village of Antigonishe (or, as it has lately been named, Dorchester) stands five miles up this river, above the harbour so called, at the head of a deep bay, and in the midst of a beautiful fertile country. It is the shire town of the county of Sydney, and contains sixty or seventy houses, with a court-house, a large Catholic chapel, a Presbyterian and a Baptist meeting-house. Roads branch off from this very pretty village to various parts of the province.

Between Antigonishe and the Gut of Canseau lie the small harbours of Pomquet, Tracadie, and Aubushè, the inhabitants of which are Acadian French, who employ themselves in the occupations of farming, fishing, and coasting with their shallops. They neglect the cultivation of the soil too much for the latter pursuit, and are, consequently, not so independent in their means, nor so simple in their manners, as the Acadians of Clare.

On the south of the Gut of Canseau lies Chedebucto Bay, which enters from the Atlantic, between Madame Island and Cape Canseau. It is twenty-five miles in length, and from ten to twelve in breadth. At the head of this bay there is a beautiful inlet, called

Milford Haven, about a mile wide, and twelve or fifteen in length. It admits large vessels, but its entrance is intricate. On each side stands a pretty village; that on the north is called Manchester, the other, opposite, Guysborough. They contain about fifty houses each, but the latter is the county town, and has a court-house, Episcopal church, Catholic chapel, and Methodist meeting-house. The lands bordering on this inlet and river are of excellent quality, and the scenery luxuriant and remarkably pretty.

The shores of Chedebucto Bay, and particularly at Fox Island, are the great resorts of the herring and mackerel fishermen, and abound in fish of various kinds in extraordinary plenty.

Canseau harbour, with its islands, on one of which there is a lighthouse, was formerly a place where very extensive fisheries were carried on, both by the French and the English. At present there is but a very scanty population, who live principally by fishing.

From Cape Canseau to Halifax, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, and which will bring us back to where I commenced my description of the province, the whole sea-coast presents a succession of innumerable but excellent harbours, and very thinly settled by fishermen and people who employ themselves with their schooners and shallops in the coasting trade.

Description can scarcely exaggerate the ruggedness of this coast, and the general stubbornness of the soil;

yet several miles back, at the head of some of the harbours, there are a few spots of good land; and along the banks of the principal rivers some tracts of excellent intervale land are met with.

The harbour and river of St Mary, distant about a hundred miles from Halifax, though little known, yet claim some notice. A bar, with eleven feet at the lowest ebb, and with about eighteen feet at high water, is an objection to its harbour, but its channel is never frozen over, which is a great advantage.

The river is navigable for large ships eight miles, and for vessels of a hundred tons two miles farther, to the little village of Sherbrooke, which stands on a pretty spot of alluvial soil, embosomed within rugged forest land. For ten miles farther up, the river is navigated by boats, where it divides into two principal branches. Canoes can proceed about twenty-five miles up the western branch, and ten or twelve up the eastern. Five or six miles above the forks, the eastern branch divides again into two streams, one of which issues out of a beautiful sheet of water, called Lochaber Lake, at the head of which there is a fine vale; the west branch is said to rise in Mount Toum, above Pictou, and flows fifty miles through a thickly wooded country, and among excellent tracts of intervale lands, before its confluence with the other branches.

The settlement of this neglected but important part of the province has been retarded by grants of large tracts of the best lands having been made to

several persons who have neither settled on or cultivated them. The timber business has formed the chief pursuit of the settlers. The lands along both branches, embracing an extensive district, are adapted for agriculture ; but the settlers have found it more convenient to grasp the more immediate resources of the fir forest. For three or four years past from twelve to fifteen large ships have loaded in this harbour with timber and deals for England. There are several saw-mills on the rivers ; but agriculture and rearing cattle must eventually be considered the sources which will cause these settlements to thrive and become populous.

A road leads from Sherbrooke village, which branches to Guysborough, to the Gut of Canseau, to Antigonishe, and to Pictou. All these, however, are as yet little better than paths. The road to Halifax passes through the flourishing settlement of Musquodobit, extending along a fine river of the same name, which falls into the Atlantic thirty miles from its source.

Places of lesser note than the foregoing, and which are scattered over different parts of the province, or forming along the various roads, can only be described by tedious repetitions, their characteristic features are so strikingly similar, and present little that could be interesting, after knowing that all embryo settlements in America are nothing more than log-houses, in small openings made in the forests, scattered along banks of rivers, roads, or the sea-shore, with occa-

sionally a saw-mill, grist-mill, smithy, tavern, shop, place of worship, and school-house.*

* The gradual appearance of a settlement, on lands previously occupied by the forest, is beautifully described in a delightful little poem, entitled the " Rising Village," by Mr Oliver Goldsmith, of the commissariat department, and now or lately stationed at Annapolis, Nova Scotia. He is a collateral descendant of the author of the Deserted Village. I believe the " Rising Village" was published in this country ; at all events, its merits claim approbation.

CHAPTER X.

Agriculture—Former Neglect of Systematic Husbandry—Agricola's Letters —Board of Agriculture—Soils—Agricultural Returns—Live Stock.

THE soils of the province have been already mentioned in the first chapter, and the most fertile districts pointed out in the foregoing one; it will, therefore, be sufficient to notice, in respect to the agriculture of the province, a brief account of its progress and present condition. The cultivation of the soil of Nova Scotia was long neglected for other pursuits; it was even considered as disreputable, as if a portion of that spirit had been transplanted to the colony, which in Europe, during the feudal times, viewed husbandry as a degraded employment, in which villains or slaves should alone be engaged. A ridiculous pride certainly prevailed for a long time, and still, in some measure, exists in America, which showed itself by holding rural labour in contempt. This has been the principal cause of poverty among the old settlers, who, when any other employment offered, generally escaped from the occupation of husbandry.

Strange as it may appear in England, where such opinions will be laughed at, the petty shopkeeper,

who retailed rum, sugar, and tea; the pedlar, who carried about tape, thread, needles, and pins; the keeper of a common tavern or dram-shop, the constables who served the writs or summons of the justice of peace, and the cheating horse-dealer; in short, all who made a living by scheming or rascality, considered themselves much more important persons than the truly more respectable, and assuredly more honest man who cultivated his own lands.

Unfortunately, many of the farmers themselves considered the cultivation of the soil so far beneath them, that they only held the plough from necessity, as a degraded employment, while their sons skulked from rural labour to the woods, or to seek for employment on board of the coasting vessels, and the daughters were ashamed of being found engaged in the dairy, or assisting in the occupations of haymaking and harvest.

During the war, the means of living, it is true, were easily procured; but the folly of the farmers and their families brought on poverty at the peace, which convinced, or at least should have taught them, that those who have to depend on their labour and industry, cannot attain real independence in America, without applying both with unremitting energy to the cultivation of the soil.

The distress which came among the inhabitants along with the last peace, produced, however, great benefit to the province, by leaving agriculture as the only certain occupation from which relief could be obtained.

During the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie, the attention of government and of the inhabitants was directed, with great spirit, to the cultivation of the soil. Much of the merit of the extraordinary excitement which gave birth to a new train of ideas on the subject of agriculture, must be attributed to a long series of letters on the subject, under the signature of "Agricola," which were published in one of the weekly papers, and written with great vigour and ability.*

A provincial board of agriculture was therefore formed in 1817, under the immediate patronage of the Earl of Dalhousie, the governor, at Halifax; and numerous branch societies were soon after formed in every district in the colony. The objects of this board are,—the encouragement of agriculture, on the most approved system; improving the breed of horses and all kinds of live stock; importing the best kinds of seeds; awarding prizes for the best acres of green and white crops, the finest cattle, and to those who excel at ploughing-matches. Under such encouragement; the agriculture of Nova Scotia has advanced more rapidly than, from the ideas previously entertained respecting its climate and soil, was considered possible. Before this time, the cultivation of the soil was certainly attended to only in the most slovenly

* The author, Mr John Young, formerly of Glasgow, was not known for a long time to the public as the writer of Agricola's Letters. He is at present a member of the Provincial Parliament of Nova Scotia. Agricola's Letters have been since published at Halifax, in one large octavo volume.

and barbarous manner. Mr Young observes very justly,—"The principles of vegetation were so grossly misconceived, that few even of the farmers imagined that plants, like animals, stood in need of food, and manures of all kinds were either disregarded, or shamefully thrown away. The dung by many was suffered to accumulate about the barns, till it became a question of expediency whether it was less expensive to shift the site of the building, or remove such an intolerable nuisance, and several instances are on record where the former alternative was preferred." *

Soon after the establishment of the Central Board of Agriculture, the Scottish system of husbandry began to spread over all parts of the province, at least so far as it could be adapted to the nature of the country; for forest lands must always be cleared and cultivated in all parts of America early in the same manner as I have already described.

Great, however, as the change and improvement in the agriculture of the province has been, we must yet consider farming, comparatively speaking, in a rude state. There still exists a lazy attachment to the make-shift system,—an absence of neatness, amidst

* I have observed at New London, in Prince Edward Island, the dung in several heaps, as high as the cowhouses, on one farm only, but in the other colonies the circumstance was formerly common. Manures were formerly, and in many parts still, as much neglected in the United States as in Nova Scotia. We learn from the travels of Professor Kalm, a Swedish gentleman, that, in 1749, when a spot of ground was exhausted by repeated crops, rather than manure it, the inhabitants preferred clearing and cultivating a fresh piece of forest land.

luxuriant vegetation. In short, the mere means of living are too easily obtained; and when this is the case, the stimulus to improvement and the attainment of order seems to cease. Time, and a great increase of population, will alone create an effective change.

The soil will produce, and the climate ripen, all the agricultural productions of England in great perfection. The uplands, intervales, and diked marshes, have each their peculiar features and qualities.

Uplands are those which are neither overflown by the tides nor by the freshets occasioned by the waters that swell the rivers and streams, when the sun and spring thaws dissolve the winter snows. The uplands are always fertile when they naturally produce maple, beech, and black or yellow birch, with a mixture of other trees.

Intervale land consists of flat tracts along the rivers and brooks, originally formed of deposits carried down from the uplands by the spring freshets. We find this description of soil along all the rivers of North America. Its fertility appears greater when long narrow rivers wind through it, than when occurring along the banks of broad rivers.

The vast tracts of marsh lands in this province, from which the tides are shut out by embankments, are also of alluvial formation, being partly formed by deposits brought down by the thaws, and partly by the mud and other substances thrown up by the impetuosity of the tides.

The aboiteau, an Acadian term, is a mound raised on a foundation secured by piles, and provided with flood-gates. The lands thus recovered form in many parts extensive plains, which produce luxuriant crops of grain, or become the richest pastures in the world. A marsh, after being newly diked, is left three or more years untilled, during which period it becomes firm and fit for the plough.

Wheat, although scarcely ever cultivated with great care, produces at an average on marsh, intervale, or good uplands, from fifteen to eighteen returns, or about thirty bushels per acre. On newly tilled lands, especially on diked marshes and intervales, twenty-five returns, or fifty bushels per acre, is a common crop. Wheat crops often fail in America, not in growing, but from the grain being checked in ripening by rust or blight; a careful selection of seed, the use of lime, and early sowing, generally ensure a good crop. Winter wheat is seldom sown; although, on lands that are sheltered by surrounding wood, it yields much greater returns than summer wheat, and ripens so much earlier, that it is never affected by either rust, blight, or the Hessian fly. On lands exposed to the sweeping snow storms and drifts, which lay the ground bare, and expose it to intense frost, and which, after a thaw, becomes incrusted with ice, winter wheat will not succeed; but the enclosure and subdivision of fields with hedges for shelter, would most likely, under all ordinary circumstances, ensure a good crop of winter wheat.

Indian corn produces extraordinary returns; from sixty to ninety bushels per acre are common.

Oats, buck wheat, barley, and rye, are always certain crops. Beans may be raised in vast abundance; they are frequently sown along with Indian corn, and we sometimes observe pumpkins also growing intermingled with them.

Good land will produce about two hundred bushels of excellent potatoes per acre; turnips, mangel wurzel, carrots, cabbages, and all kinds of culinary vegetables, grow to great perfection.

White and red clover, and timothy, are the grasses cultivated; two to four tons per acre may be considered the general crop.

What is said of seed-time, hay-making, and harvest, in treating of Prince Edward Island, applies to this province. The cradle, an implement of American invention, in which there is a scythe fixed below a framework, is oftener used to cut down the corn than the sickle.

From the richness of intervales and diked marshes, (the latter never requiring any,) manures were not formerly much used. A rotation of crops, the use of stable dung, marsh mud, and occasionally lime, have, however, for some years, been attended to; and the face of the country exhibits striking evidence of improvement.

Grazing has, in the fertile districts of Cumberland, Windsor, Cornwallis, Horton, and Annapolis, particularly in the first, been probably too much attended to, in preference to the cultivation of the lands.

Excellent butter and cheese, the latter quite equal to that of Cheshire, are made in those places; and the cattle, especially the oxen, that feed among the rich pastures of the diked marshes, are remarkably large and fat.

The sheep are generally, as respects their wool, of an unprofitable breed, but they thrive well, and their meat is excellent. The swine, although the best breeds thrive remarkably well, are still the most miserable, long, lank, ill-favoured animals imaginable. An improvement is, however, observable.

The horses of Nova Scotia are rather small, but wonderfully hardy and full of spirit. They may be considered a mixed breed of the Canadian and English horses. Several excellent saddle horses may be found among them; and some English blood horses have been, during the last few years, imported to the province to improve the breed.

Horticulture is but little, and always slovenly, attended to. This is generally the case all over America. The country is capable of producing many fruits in the open air that would not ripen in England, which may be accounted for from the greater heat of summer. Wild vines, covering several acres, were discovered several years ago near Digby.

The Acadians had small orchards in all their settlements, clumps of the apple-trees of which are still in existence. On the settlement of the country by emigrants from the New England and Southern States, the raising of apple-trees was not neglected by them; and we may have as good apples produced

in Nova Scotia as in any part of America. In the orchards of Windsor, Cornwallis, Horton, &c., great quantities are raised, from which excellent cider is made for domestic use and exportation.

Along with the progress of improvement in the cultivation of the soil, a great improvement has also taken place in preparing its productions for use. Much more attention is directed to the construction of grist-mills, and cleaning and grinding wheat, barley, and oats, than formerly. Oat or shelling-mills have been also erected in the agricultural districts; and the ploughs, harrows, and carts of the farmers, are generally well made. Greater care is also taken in the salting of meat, which was long most unpardonably neglected.

The slovenly want of arrangements which we still discover among the farmers, may be attributed to two causes,—the high price of labour, which will long prevent gentlemen from becoming to any great extent practical farmers, and the facility with which the labouring farmer can obtain the necessaries of life.

Generally speaking of the climate and soil, we must admit that a great belt of the province, extending along the whole Atlantic coast, is for many miles back as rugged and sterile as any part of the habitable globe; and that the chilly sea-fogs, even where a little soil is to be found, will always render the culture of wheat uncertain; while experience has, at the same time, proved beyond dispute, that a vast proportion of Nova Scotia is eminently adapted by nature for a rich agricultural country.

CHAPTER XI.

Trade—Commercial Resources—Former Restrictions—Advantage of Mr Canning's Policy in prohibiting the Admission of United States' Vessels into the Ports of the West Indies—Impolicy of opening these Ports to the Americans—Petition on the Subject—Mr Combrelling's Report—Exports and Imports—Whale, Herring, and Cod Fisheries, &c.

THE geographical position and configuration of Nova Scotia, with its natural resources, give this colony most important advantages in respect to commerce.

Its fisheries, mineral riches, forests, and pastures, afford abundant resources for obtaining articles of export, while its soil is at the same time capable of producing plenty of food for its inhabitants.

There were formerly many restrictions on the trade of the colonies, which prevented the inhabitants from resorting to foreign markets, and which compelled them to carry all their productions and commodities in a raw state to Great Britain, with the exception only of fish; and to import, direct from England and Scotland, all the articles they required from other countries, with the exception of salt for the fisheries, horses and provisions from Ireland, and wines from the Western Islands and Madeira. Certain West India productions were afterwards per-

mitted to be exported direct to Gibraltar and Malta; and in order to encourage the fisheries, a variety of European articles were also allowed to be imported from ports south of Cape Finisterre, by vessels arriving from our colonies with British American fish, or colonial productions. Other privileges were at different periods extended to the colonial trade; but the celebrated act of 6 Geo. IV., entitled "An act to regulate the trade of the British possessions abroad," which came into operation 5th January, 1826, may be said to have almost completely unshackled the commerce of the colonies, and to have extended to them the most liberal privileges, without injuring in any degree the interests of the mother country.

Halifax, which was previously declared a free port, with Quebec, St John's in New Brunswick, Kingston in Jamaica, and Bridgetown in Barbadoes, were by this act free warehousing ports. The same privilege has since been extended to Pictou.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to enter into the details of the privileges granted to the colonies; and those who may be engaged in colonial trade, should be well acquainted with the provisions of, and possess the act mentioned.

Great advantages to the British American colonies have arisen from the Americans of the United States having refused to avail themselves of the benefits that this act held out to them, on condition that they should place the ships and commerce of Great Britain and her colonies on the same footing as those of the

most favoured nations. The consequence of their refusal to do so was, that Mr Canning, with the spirit and vigour of a great British statesman, shut the ports of our West Indian colonies against the ships of the United States. This measure has therefore been highly favourable to our North American possessions, and by no means injurious, although I am aware that many think otherwise, to our sugar colonies. The former can supply with great facility all that the latter require from the Americans; and a great increase in the consumption of British manufacture and West Indian produce in the North American colonies, is another important consequence of this measure of policy, while a vast number of British ships are also engaged in the trade, which would otherwise be enjoyed by the Americans. The British colonies take, in return for the lumber,* cattle, fish, flour, butter, and salted provisions, which they export to the West Indies, rum, sugar, molasses, &c., while the Americans, who require but little of those articles from others, were taking away the circulating specie, and causing, in consequence, much inconvenience among the inhabitants of the sugar colonies. Besides which, the Americans contrived, as long as their vessels were admitted into the ports of the British West Indies, to carry on a great smuggling trade, for money payments, by vending tea, East India and foreign goods among the inhabitants, while they finally prohibited nearly altogether the direct

* Lumber is a general colonial term for planks, boards, beams, &c.

importation of the manufactures of the United Kingdom, by their impolitic tariff.

The Americans know well the vast importance of being again allowed to trade to the British West Indies; but the granting of this privilege would be a measure of the greatest impolicy on the part of his majesty's government, and the cause of general discontent among the colonists.

The merchants of British America have invested a great part of their capital in the trade between the colonies and the West Indies, under the full confidence that the trade should remain as it is; and throwing the ports open again to the ships of the United States, would bring inevitable ruin upon the merchants and shipowners now engaged in supplying the West Indies with colonial productions. We, even now, under the present regulations, in a great measure thwart the object of the American tariff, by the immense quantities of British manufactures that find their way through the colonies to the United States, for which the Americans pay either in dollars, or in flour, provisions, staves, lumber, and pot and pearl-ashes, which, with the exception of flour and corn, the present laws allow to be shipped from the colonial free ports, as if the same were the produce of the British plantations. From these circumstances, therefore, not only the manufactures of the United Kingdom, but the British shipowners, and the inhabitants of the colonies, derive profitable and important benefits; and it would be the *ne plus ultra* of weakness in ministers to destroy this trade

merely to gratify the Americans, who will assuredly give us no solid equivalent in return.

There is no matter which requires such delicate management as interfering with any well-established trade, nor so hazardous as changing commercial regulations with which the inhabitants of a country are satisfied. The British colonies are so perfectly contented with the present state of things, and assuredly they have every reason to be so, that if government were to ask them what farther could be done for their commerce, they might, with great truth, make the reply, "Laissez nous faire," leave us to act as we are, which the French merchants made to M. Colbert when he asked them a similar question.

On the subject of the trade between British North America and the West Indies, the following extracts from the joint address of his Majesty's Council and House of Assembly of the province of Nova Scotia to the King, may be considered as the general opinions of the inhabitants of all the North American provinces, the spirit and substance of the addresses to his majesty from each of the other colonies being the same. This address commences,—

"May it please your Majesty,

"The Council and House of Assembly of your loyal province of Nova Scotia beg leave most humbly to approach your Majesty, to represent the great alarm which has been excited throughout British America on learning that the government of the United States are endeavouring to induce your Ma-

jesty to permit a direct trade between the ports of that country and your Majesty's possessions in the West Indies.

" The Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia desire most humbly to express their gratitude for the benefits which this province has derived from the acts passed by the Imperial Parliament during your Majesty's reign, for extending the trade of your Majesty's colonies.

" Fully aware of your Majesty's paternal solicitude for the happiness and welfare of your subjects in every part of your extensive dominions, they are convinced it will be gratifying to your Majesty to learn that the benefits expected to have been derived from these acts have been realized in British America, and they think they may add, in your Majesty's Trans-atlantic dominions in general.

" It has long been noticed by all who have paid attention to the principles which actuate the government of the United States, that, in their domestic policy, they avail themselves of the vast variety of soil and climate which their extensive territories embrace, and strive to cement the union of the confederate states, by encouraging an interchange of their respective productions.

" Upon this principle, they are now encouraging to the utmost of their power the manufacture of sugar, spirits, and molasses; and it may be confidently asserted that those articles, which comprise the staple of the West India trade, are already produced in the Flori-

das and Louisiana, to an extent nearly equal to the supply of the United States.

" The inhabitants of British America feel, with proud exultation, that they are the subjects of a Monarch whose dominions extend to every quarter of the globe, and they know that if an interchange of the various productions of the several portions of the British empire is encouraged, such wise policy would enable your Majesty to confer commercial privileges upon your colonial subjects, infinitely more important than any that the government of the United States can bestow upon its citizens.

" That the distance which separates the several portions of your Majesty's dominions from each other, enhances the benefits which the empire would derive from their intercourse, as the interchange of their respective productions would be carried on in British ships, navigated by British seamen, and thus increase the resources of that naval power which has made Great Britain the mistress of the seas, and to which she is mainly indebted for the proud station she holds among the nations of the earth.

" That your Majesty's loyal subjects in North America have no desire to advance their local interests at the expense of those of the Empire in general, but humbly conceiving that, in the present case, the general interest is identified with theirs, they trust that the citizens of the United States will not be allowed to participate in a trade which would render them dangerous rivals to your Majesty's subjects in their northern colonies, and prove most injurious to their

interests, without producing corresponding benefits to the West India Islands.

"Those Islands now receive through these colonies a regular supply of the articles which they require from the continent of America, for the greater part of which they pay with their own produce. This not only creates a most beneficial barter trade between the northern colonies and the British West Indies, but increases the intercourse between the northern colonies themselves. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in consequence of their situation on the Atlantic, became the carriers between the Canadas and the West Indies. The fish caught on the coast of British America, is carried in the vessels of the Atlantic Colonies to the Islands, and there disposed of for rum, sugar, and molasses, with which those vessels return to supply the wants, not only of the Atlantic Colonies, but of the Canadas also. The Canadians pay for these supplies in flour, pork, and other articles of agricultural produce, which are required for the fishermen on the sea-board, and all the colonies are thus made to feel how beneficial they are to each other.

"The demand for West India produce in British America must increase with the rapid augmentation of the population in these healthy countries; and the wealth which the inhabitants will derive from this trade, if it is preserved to them, will enable them to become better customers every year to the British manufacturer.

"That no burdens in the shape of protecting duties can ever be imposed upon British manufactured goods

in the North American Colonies; and, by fostering their trade, and encouraging their prosperity, Great Britain ensures to herself a valuable market for her domestic productions.

"That the duties which the American Congress has imposed upon West India produce, in order to encourage their own planters and distillers, nearly amount to a total prohibition of the imports of those articles into the United States, which, added to the decrease in the demand from abroad, in consequence of domestic supply, would prevent the Americans from taking payments in produce for any cargoes they might carry to the islands.

"Their admission, therefore, would drain the British islands of specie—nor would the evil be confined to this—they would probably proceed to the foreign islands, and with that specie purchase the clayed sugars which are in demand in Europe, and carry them thither, from whence they would return with such foreign European goods as are suited to the American markets.

"By this impolitic measure, then, Great Britain would provide a country, which appears destined to become her rival, with the means of procuring full freights upon their several voyages, and thus add to their commercial wealth and their maritime power at the expense of our own.

"The Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia most humbly state to your Majesty, that when the American government, in adhering to the system of fostering its own trade, forebore to avail itself of the

offers held out to the foreign powers by the acts of the Imperial Parliament, and declined to place the commerce of Great Britain upon the footing of the most favoured nations, your loyal subjects in British America were induced to believe that your Majesty's Government would persevere in the measures it then thought proper to adopt, and would not renew any negotiation relative to the intercourse between the United States and your Majesty's Colonies.

"That the declaration of your Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the American Minister, then in London, confirmed them in this opinion, and encouraged them to invest a large capital in the commercial and agricultural pursuits, which an adherence to such a line of policy is calculated to foster and increase in these colonies.

"That the alarm which the mere report of an intention of departing from this judicious system has occasioned, has, in some measure, paralyzed the efforts of those engaged in such pursuits; and if that intention is acted upon, it will involve all who have thus embarked their capital in inevitable ruin.

"The Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia humbly conceive that the adoption of the measure now pressed upon your Majesty's government by the Minister of the United States, would prove injurious to British shipowners throughout your Majesty's dominions; would encourage dangerous rivals to British merchants in the foreign ports of Europe; would increase the carrying trade of America at the expense of that of Great Britain; would diminish, if not destroy, the

intercourse between the several portions of your Majesty's dominions, which must ultimately prove so beneficial to the whole empire; and would in a more especial manner prove ruinous to the North American colonies.

"The Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia, therefore, humbly trust that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to adhere to that wise and enlightened policy which has distinguished your Majesty's reign, and preserve to your faithful and loyal subjects in North America, a trade so essential to their prosperity; and as in duty bound, they will ever pray."

To preserve the deep-rooted attachment of the inhabitants of so great and powerful a country as British America is destined to be, for Great Britain, and to repair as far as possible the political blunders which we have committed, in giving up a full participation of our colonial fisheries to the French and Americans, it will be wise in ministers to persevere in the line of policy which has been adopted towards the colonies and the United States.

That the liberal and intelligent citizens of the United States, are convinced of the political errors of their government, will, I believe, fully appear from the following extracts from the able report of Mr Cambrelling, submitted, February 1, 1830, by the committee of trade to the Congress of the United States. This document states, "The policy of this country must be regulated in some measure by the commercial laws of our maritime rival. Our com-

merce with Great Britain and her dependencies is far more important to us than that with any other country; and the trade with the United States is, in a commercial point of view, the most valuable branch of the foreign commerce of Great Britain. There are no two countries so deeply interested in securing and preserving the most friendly and liberal reciprocity.

"The interest of both, however, has been hitherto, and we fear may be hereafter, sacrificed to those political jealousies, which are too apt to influence the councils of countries naturally rivals for naval ascendency. We should, however, in our foreign policy, avoid such influence, and cultivate, with an indiscriminating and just equality, the most friendly intercourse with all nations. But in wishing this reciprocal commerce, without anticipating the probability of future conflicts with any power, it is among our highest obligations vigilantly to superintend our means of national defence, and, with a wise foresight, to prepare for any emergency.

"It will be discovered, on examination, that while we have been for fifteen years wasting our energies and resources in crude and speculative experiments, other nations have kept a vigilant eye on the growth of their commercial marine.

"From 1788 to 1807, we enjoyed an almost uninterrupted commerce, under rates of duty so moderate, that they were scarcely felt or perceptible. From that time till 1815, we were driven, through political necessity, into a train of measures which

disturbed our intercourse with foreign nations. From 1815 to the present time, our commerce, though uninterrupted, has been depressed by immoderate imposts on consumption, and restrictions on our foreign trade.

"It is a common impression that our early maritime prosperity was owing to the wars growing out of the French revolution, which enabled the United States and Great Britain to monopolize the carrying trade. Those who think so, take but a superficial view of the causes which gave a strong impulse to our navigation at that early period.

"These were our rich and increasing agricultural resources; the removal of all the countervailing laws of the states; our commercial enterprise, and a foreign commerce without restrictions.

"But what exhibits in the clearest light the dangerous tendency of our late measures, is the extraordinary increase of her (England) tonnage in the trade with her North American possessions.

"The prosperity of these colonies proves not only that we have aided Great Britain in her plans to enlarge her commercial marine, but that, by the extraordinary folly of her own laws, we have assisted her in opening a new and indirect channel for the illicit introduction of her manufactures to the consumption of North America. Such is the extraordinary manner in which we have been for fifteen years countervailing the policy of Great Britain: we need not apprehend her retaliation while we persist in a policy so admirably calculated to destroy ourselves.

and to encourage the growth of her colonies. She may put an end to our commercial treaty, which one of her late ministry told us he renewed conditionally, for the express purpose of resorting to that expedient, if they could not terminate that system of commercial hostility, which England was not the first to begin, but the first to lament. Whether she executes this threat or not is immaterial. She carried into full operation in 1825 a policy in relation to her North American possessions, which, if we persevere in our prohibitory system, must inevitably place the finances and navigation of the United States in the worst possible condition. The resources of no country were ever placed, by the folly of its own government, in such peril, so entirely at the discretion of the very power whose maritime strength she has most and just reasons to apprehend. The ministers of Great Britain will understand their advantages over us, and how to use them. Knowing that the trade with their colonies would be more profitable as they might enlarge their intercourse with other countries, and perceiving how effectually they could countervail the policy we are blindly pursuing, they continued from time to time to grant new privileges to their northern possessions on our frontier. Our tariff of 1824 had scarce become a law, when Parliament adopted, in June and July 1825, those liberating measures which went into operation on the 5th of January, 1826. By these acts, they granted to the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, substantially, all the commercial privileges of an independent nation; and they not only

imposed more moderate duties than are charged upon the consumption of any country, but they placed the revenue at the discretion of their local legislatures for the use of the colonies.

" We have not yet realized the fatal consequences that are to result from the permanent operation of two such tariffs on the North American continent. The illicit trade actually existing, however extensive it may be, is nothing when compared with that which is to come, should we unwisely persist in an attempt to enforce our present high duties. The free-trade policy of Great Britain was not made complete in her northern colonies till 1826. It is our duty to anticipate and prevent, by timely measures, the consequences which must result from two systems of government, so opposite in character, but so harmonious in their tendency, to destroy our navigation and revenue. These provinces consume the produce and manufactures of Great Britain and her dominions almost free of duty; they enjoy the commerce of the East India Company, of Europe, and North and South America, charged with duties averaging not more than 10 per cent, while the voluntary taxes of the United States on the primary necessaries of life, average 100 per cent *ad valorem*. What can Great Britain desire more, if she wishes to see our resources paralyzed and exhausted, than that we should continue the policy we have pursued since the war? But a few more privileges to her northern possessions, and another fifteen years of restrictions, and this legislative war will be closed, with little honour to those

who have been intrusted by the people with the direction of our national commerce.

"With New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the Canadas, on the north; with Bermuda, the Bahamas, her West Indies, and the Spanish Island of Cuba, on the south; with restrictions on our side, and free-traders on theirs, what must in time become of our revenue and navigation?

"Britain has already perceived the advantages to her of this indirect trade through her colonies, by destroying our navigation employed in the direct trade. She has long imported through Canada much of the produce of the United States, at a less duty than the same could be imported direct. Immediately after the passing of our late tariff, she carried this policy one step farther, by the act of August 1828, admitting cotton, when imported from any British province, at fourpence, or seven cents on a hundred and twelve pounds, and charging six per cent *ad valorem*, when imported direct.

"Let Great Britain admit the produce of the United States free of duty, through all her possessions, northern and southern: let her levy a discriminating duty, when imported direct, equal to the freight; let her open the navigation of the St Lawrence, as wide as law can make it; let American property pass freely to and fro, through her northern colonies, and we shall soon see how completely we have placed the resources of our country in the power of the ministers of that rival nation, whose measures we

are pretending to countervail. These northern colonies stand in a peculiar and dangerous relation to us.

"A free trade on that frontier must effect our finances and navigation, as sensibly as if Louisiana were to set our revenue laws at defiance, and proclaim the port of New Orleans open to all the world. It is even worse. Our navy might blockade the mouths of the Mississippi, and we might take the chances of involving ourselves in a war, by intercepting the vessels of foreign powers; but we have not even that security, dangerous as it may be, against importations through the northern colonies. They are not under the dominion of our laws, nor can we blockade their ports; neither have we any right to complain, if they enjoy commerce without taxation or restriction. It is not their fault if our colonized neighbours are treated more liberally, and more indulgently, by Parliament, than we are by our own representatives. There is, indeed, little consolation in the prospect before us. If we wish to gratify Great Britain, and promote her interests by injuring ourselves, and increasing her navigation, we shall keep our laws in their present condition, or make them worse, by piling new restrictions on trade; if we mean to save our revenue, and protect our resources, we must adopt some wiser plan to countervail the policy of our maritime rival."

The imports of Nova Scotia, as has been observed under the head of Halifax, consist principally of British manufactures and West India produce; while the privileges extended to that port and Pictou, as

free and warehousing ports, constitute them places of deposit for foreign productions and manufactures to be distributed to other ports.

The export trade consists, in the first place, of timber, a very small share of which is carried on from Halifax; but this trade has for many years employed a great number of ships, which have loaded principally at Pictou, Port Wallace, Le Have, Port Medway, and Liverpool.

The timber and lumber shipped at Halifax is carried there from the out-ports; and great quantities of deals, boards, shingles, and scantling,* to make up assorted cargoes for the West Indies, will hereafter be brought to Halifax by the Shubenacady Canal.

Gypsum, which the Americans will always require for manure, has long formed an article of export; but the coal and iron mines of this province must, however, in all probability, become the most important of its exports; and Nova Scotia become in respect to other parts of America, what Newcastle, Sunderland, and Maryport, are to the United Kingdom.

The fisheries, however, claim, at the present time, the first right to our attention.

The whale-fishery, which was at one time carried on with great activity from Dartmouth, has been, as already observed, revived with much spirit by the

* Scantling means timber hewed, or sawed, to the proper size for beams, rafters, and other parts of the framework of a house.

merchants of Halifax. This branch of enterprise has long been profitably followed by the inhabitants of Nantucket, and the seaports from Cape Cod to New London. The character of these people is grave, sober, and persevering; and they retain much of the deportment which characterised their ancestors, who were either Quakers or Puritans. Their ships in this employment, or their whale fleet, amount to about two hundred, registering from two hundred to six hundred tons. With these vessels they navigate the greatest oceans, and most stormy regions. Their voyages average about two and a half years, but they are fitted out for three years; and care is taken to have every article that may be considered necessary to promote the comfort and preserve the health of the crews.

The preparation for whaling voyages, and the departures of the ships, are attended with the most interesting circumstances. The mothers, wives, sisters, or daughters of these hardy and adventurous men, are, long before the day of sailing, busily engaged in collecting every delicacy for the voyage, and providing and packing up all sorts of clothing suitable for the stormy and cold rigours of the Antartic regions, as well as for the mild climate and gentle seas of the Pacific. On parting with them for a period of nearly, or more than three years, the old, middle-aged, and young of both sexes, manifest, in the most tender and affectionate manner, all the endearing feelings of the heart.

Some of these ships proceed round Cape Horn,

others round the Cape of Good Hope, and they frequently meet in the Pacific. The Indian, Chinese, and Pacific Oceans are better known to these men than to any other navigators; and to this circumstance, and their great caution in keeping two men always stationed at the mast-head, on the look-out for land or breakers, must be attributed the very few shipwrecks among them, for they certainly navigate the most boisterous regions, and the most imperfectly known seas, especially on the charts, in the world. The dangers to which they are exposed are great in the extreme, and innumerable are the hazards they encounter.

The whales most valued are considered as becoming scarcer, and ships are going farther south than before; and those engaged in the South Sea seal-fishery proceed still farther than the whalers towards the South Pole. The ships seldom remain more than three months at a time over each whaling ground.

During these long voyages, the young men receive instructions, from those older, in mathematics, navigation, geography, the natural history of the South Seas, and in practical knowledge connected with their hazardous profession. They occasionally land and refresh themselves in some of the beautiful islands of the Pacific, and return on shipboard, invigorated and recruited, to follow their proper pursuits.

In the two splendid ships fitted out for the South Seas at Halifax, and in the one equipped for the Brazil Bank, about sixty young men, natives of the

colony, have gone out for the purpose of qualifying themselves for the South Sea whale-fishery ; and from the intrepid character of the Nova Scotians, and the flattering accounts of the success of these ships, there is every reason to expect that the whale-fishery will hereafter become a most important part of the trade of the province.*

The seal-fishery, for which Halifax and the Atlantic ports of Nova Scotia are well situated, is only of recent standing ; but this branch of enterprise is likely to be followed up with spirit.

The cod-fishery of the province is of much importance to it, in providing a portion of the assorted cargoes required in the West Indies ; but encouragement, extended by the legislature to the fisheries, in the shape of bounties, has been found expedient to enable the fishermen to compete with the Americans on the coast of Labrador.

The shores of Nova Scotia may be considered as the greatest resort of herring and mackerel fishermen.

A small variety of herrings, exceedingly fat and delicious, frequent the shores of the Bay of Fundy in May ; and about the end of the month enter Annapolis Basin, where, on the shore of Clements, they have been caught in amazing quantities. They are usually smoked or cured as red herrings, and packed up in boxes, which hold each half a bushel, and con-

* Two of these ships have returned with very fair success. There are now five or six ships in all fitted out from Halifax.

tain about two hundred. A hundred thousand boxes of these have been exported during some years, but they are said not to be so plentiful as formerly.

Herrings of large size, full of spawn, arrive in all the harbours in May; but these, although taken in great quantities, are poor, and not much esteemed. The spring mackerel are also lean, and not much valued, although they keep better than others in hot climates.

The fall herrings and mackerel are exceedingly fat, and much esteemed. The regulations, by legislative enactment, for inspecting the quality of fish packed up in the province, which must all be in new casks, have, although complained of at first, established the preference for the pickled fish of Nova Scotia in foreign markets.

Crow Harbour, and Fox Island, both near each other, and within Chedebucto Bay, have always, especially in autumn, been the great resort of mackerel and herrings. Nets are sometimes used, but the great bulk of the fish is caught with seines. These places, while the fishing season lasts, are generally the scenes of the most lawless disorder and licentiousness, occasioned by the violence of the fishermen contending for the best places to haul their seines ashore; the pillaging of the fish; the selling and drinking of rum; the smuggling of goods by the Americans; the exactions of those who possess the lands bordering on the shores; and often from the mere spirit of spoliation and mischief. A ship of war has been occasionally sent round from Halifax to preserve

some sort of order among the multitudes of men, boats, and schooners that resort to these harbours; and certainly these fisheries, from their great importance, require protection and the establishment of regularity for their governance.

A novel method of catching mackerel was some time ago discovered by the fertile genius, in such matters, of the Americans. The method is, simply, on arriving over the fishing grounds, to cut up in very small pieces a quantity of old pickled herring or mackerel, for the mincing of which the Americans have also invented an instrument, and on scattering the same in the sea, round the vessel, myriads of mackerel appear near the surface, when they are caught, as fast as they can be taken in, with a rod and line, the hook being baited with a small piece of shark or mackerel. Sprinkling salt on the surface of the water is said to have the same effect, but it is more expensive.

CHAPTER XII.

Seminaries of Education—Religion—Population—Remarks on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia—General Characteristics of the same Classes of Settlers in all the Colonies—American Loyalists, English, Lowland Scotch, Highland and Island Scotch—Germans—Acadians—French—Freed Negroes of Nova Scotia.

WHAT places Nova Scotia, more than any other circumstance connected with its history or establishments, in a point of view that has accelerated its prosperity, while it at the same time gave an intellectual ascendency to those brought up in the colony, is, that the benefits of education were always, or at least since the American revolutionary war, to be obtained in the province. Amidst all the active engagements of the inhabitants, in occupations where the acquisition of wealth is the sole object, they have not neglected to cultivate the field of learning. It would, indeed, appear as if they were, from their first settling in the country, fully impressed with the truth, that New England owed its prosperity as a country, and its inhabitants, power and property as a people, in consequence of the superior intelligence of its population, and the liberal provision that was always made in that state for the education of youth.

It will be considered, I am aware, matter of some

astonishment in England, where we so frequently hear the deplorable ignorance of the North American colonists talked of, that we will find, on becoming properly acquainted with Nova Scotia, that it is a matter of doubt whether more general and useful knowledge, among all grades of the population, can be discovered in any country than will be found to prevail in this province. Many of those born and educated in it, have distinguished themselves not only at home, but in different parts of the world; and the natives generally possess a ready power of apprehension, a remarkably distinct knowledge of the general affairs of life, and the talent of adapting themselves to the circumstances of such situations as chance, direction, or necessity, may place them in.

The college of Windsor, from its constitution, claims the first notice among the seminaries of education; but it is much to be regretted that the illiberal policy which has all along restricted the admission of students to those only who subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles, has prevented the province from deriving the full benefits of this college.*

To obviate this objection, Dalhousie College, a handsome and commodious edifice, was built at Halifax during the administration of the noble earl whose name it retains, and nearly L.10,000 invested in the funds for its maintenance. Its constitution is similar to that of the University of Edinburgh; but some difficulties connected with its funds or manage-

* Note K.

ment have as yet prevented its being opened for the admission of students.*

There is an excellent grammar school established at Halifax. Also a national school, and one on the Lancasterian system, which was established by Mr Bromley in 1813.

Besides these institutions, there are at Halifax Sunday schools, a very large school for the Catholics, and several smaller schools. Grammar schools have also been established in each county, and common schools in the settlements.

I have already mentioned the excellent academy and grammar school at Pictou ; I trust that party feelings will not prevent the prosperity of these useful institutions.

The Provincial Legislature grants about L.4000 annually, to aid the maintenance of the various seminaries of education.

The Episcopal Church of England is established, by provincial statute, as the fixed form of worship, but without the power of assuming any control over any other denomination of Christians. All religious professions are not only tolerated, but may be considered perfectly free.

* I have lately learned that an academy has been opened for more than a year in this building; and the annual examination of the pupils in English reading and grammar, in Latin, Greek, French, Mathematics, &c., which took place on the 30th of July last, (1830) afforded the most satisfactory proofs of the abilities of the reverend gentleman who directs the tuition, and of the rapid, yet solid progress of the scholars.

The population of the province, including Cape Breton, may safely be estimated at one hundred and sixty thousand, and consists of natives, the descendants of Europeans, English, Scotch, Irish, American loyalists, Germans, Acadian French, Indians, and freed negroes. Their religious professions may agree nearly with the last census; and, including Cape Breton also, may be distributed in the following order:

Inhabitants, including children, classed as professing the creed and forms of the Church of England,	32,000
Church of Scotland,	49,000
Church of Rome,	34,000
Baptists,	22,500
Methodists,	13,500
Lutherans,	3,000
Dissenters from the Church of England,	4,500
Ditto, ditto Scotland,	500
Universalists, Quakers, Sandemanians, Antinomians, Swedenborgians, and Unitarians,	300
Doubtful,	700
	160,000

The clergy of the Episcopal Church are about twenty-two in number, and supported, as missionaries, by a salary of two hundred pounds from the Society for Promoting Religion in Foreign Parts. The diocese of the Bishop of Nova Scotia includes also New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and Bermuda.* The laws do not give him

* The present bishop, Dr Inglis, is an eloquent and highly-gifted preacher, and a gentleman of superior polite and literary acquirements.

any control whatever over the clergy of other professions, and the Episcopal clergy possess no exclusive powers in the province, unless it be that, in consequence of the governor's having, I believe, always directed marriage licenses to them, they claim the privilege of marrying by license as their peculiar right.

The Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, without regard to the speculations that have created divisions in the Church of Scotland, has established a provincial synod, which regulates the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.

The Presbyterian clergy in these colonies are about forty in number. Some unhappy dissensions have arisen, which are much to be regretted, and which I have already noticed when treating of Pictou ; but still the Presbyterian Church is in a very flourishing condition, and the clergy, as a body, are very intelligent, respectable, and assiduous in their avocations. They are wholly supported by their congregations.

The Roman Catholic clergy are about fourteen in number, under the control of a bishop, all of whom are respectably maintained by their congregations.

Among the Baptists, which include a numerous and respectable body of the inhabitants, each congregation is considered independent, but the whole may be said to be voluntarily governed by the decisions of their annual association meeting, which very much resembles the Wesleyan conference. The Baptist clergy are also maintained by their congregations.

The Wesleyan Methodists are in connexion with the general conference in England. They have their district meetings, and also their annual conference, composed of ministers from various stations in the three aforementioned colonies. They occasionally receive some assistance from the funds of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London; but they are principally supported by voluntary contributions from the members of their own congregations.

Notwithstanding all that may have been said to the contrary, these colonies have all the benefits of religious instruction as fully as the people of the United Kingdom; and although fanaticism may have occasionally disturbed the brains of the ignorant in some particular districts, my enquiries have not, except in one or two instances, discovered any thing so extravagant as the delusion or frensy which has lately agitated so many individuals* on the banks of the Clyde.

In describing the manners and peculiarities of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, they, like those who form the population of all the rest of British America, retain most of the habits and ideas which were common to the various parts from which either they themselves or their ancestors came; modified, however, by their marrying and mingling together in the settlements, and by their mutual wants requiring mutual acts of neighbourly assistance.

The geographical position of Nova Scotia has imparted to its inhabitants a somewhat more adventu-

* Miss Campbell's disciples.

rous character than is observed in the other colonies,* and the advantages of education have given them, generally speaking, as a people, an ascendency among the inhabitants of British America. In other respects, the following observations, which apply generally to British America, may be considered equally correct in regard to Nova Scotia.

In the English farmer we observe the dialect of his county, the honest John Bull bluntness of his style, and other peculiarities that mark his character. His house or cottage is distinguished by cleanliness and neatness, his agricultural implements and utensils are always in order; and wherever we find that an English farmer has perseverance, for he seldom wants industry, he is sure to do well. He does not, however, reconcile himself so readily as the Scotch settler does to the privations necessarily connected, for the first few years, with being set down in a new country, where the habits of those around him, and almost every thing else attached to his situation, are somewhat different from what he has been accustomed to; and it is not until he is sensibly assured of succeeding and bettering his condition, that he becomes fully reconciled to the country.

There are, indeed, in the very face of a wood farm, a thousand seeming, and, it must be admitted, many real difficulties to encounter, sufficient to stagger

* Those engaged in the north-west free trade, now connected with Hudson's Bay, form an exception to this general, but by no means particular, observation.

people of more than ordinary resolution, but more particularly an English farmer, who has all his life been accustomed to cultivate land subjected for centuries to the plough. It is not therefore to be wondered at that he feels discouraged at the sight of wilderness lands, covered with heavy forest trees, which he must cut down and destroy. He is not acquainted with the use of the axe; and if he were, the very piling and burning of the wood, after the trees are felled, is a most disagreeable piece of labour. He has, besides, to make a fence of the logs, to keep off the cattle, sheep, and hogs, which range at large; and when all this is done, he must not only submit to the hard toil of hoeing in grain or potatoes, but often to live on coarse diet. Were it not for the example which he has before him of others, who had to undergo similar hardships before they attained the means which yield them independence, he might indeed give up in despair, and be forgiven for doing so.

The Scotchman, habituated to greater privations in his native country, has probably left it with the full determination of undergoing any hardships that may lead to the acquisition of solid advantages: He therefore acts with great caution and industry, subjects himself to many inconveniencies, neglects the comforts for some time which the Englishman considers indispensable, and in time certainly succeeds in surmounting all difficulties, and then, and not till then, does he willingly enjoy the comforts of life.

The Irish peasant is soon distinguished by his brogue, his confident manner, readiness of reply,

seeming happiness, although often describing his situation as worse than it is. The Irish emigrants are more anxious, in general, to gain a temporary advantage, by working some time for others, than by beginning immediately on a piece of land for themselves; and this, by procuring the means, leads them too frequently into the habit of drinking—a vice to which a great number of English and Scotch become also unfortunately addicted.

The farmers and labourers born and brought up in America, possess, in an eminent degree, a quickness of expedients where any thing is required that can be supplied by the use of edge-tools; and, as carpenters and joiners, they are not only expert, but ingenious workmen.

Almost every farmer, particularly in the thinly settled districts of America, has a loom in his house, and their wives and daughters not only spin the yarn, but weave the cloth. The quantity, however, manufactured among the farmers, is not more than half what is required for domestic use.

The houses of the American loyalists residing in the colonies are better constructed, and more convenient and clean within, than those of the Highland Scotch and Irish, or indeed those of any other settlers who have not lived some years in America. Although the house of an English farmer who settles on a new farm is, from his awkward acquaintance with edge-tools, usually very clumsy in its construction; yet that comfortable neatness, which is so peculiar to England, prevails within doors, and shows that the vir-

tue of cleanliness is one that few Englishwomen, let them go where they may, ever forget.

The Highland Scotch, unless intermixed with other settlers, are not only careless, in many particulars, of cleanliness within their houses, but are also regardless of neatness and convenience in their agricultural implements and arrangements. All this arises from the force of habit, and the long prevalence of the make-shift system ; for whenever a Scotch Highlander is planted among a promiscuous population, no one is more anxious than he to rival the more respectable establishment of his neighbour.

The Scotch settlers from the Lowland counties, although they generally know much better, yet remain, from a determination first to accumulate property, for some years regardless of comfort or convenience in their dwellings; but they at last build respectable houses, and enjoy the fruits of their industry.

The lower classes of Irish, familiarized from their birth to a miserable subsistence and wretched residences, are, particularly if they have emigrated after the prime of life, perfectly reconciled to any condition which places them above want, although by no means free of that characteristic habit of complaining which poverty at first created.

Of all the civilized people of America, there are none who can more readily accommodate themselves to all the circumstances peculiar to a country in a state of nature than the descendants of those who first settled in the United States. Far from being

discouraged at the toil of clearing a new farm, they, in countless instances, make what may with great propriety be called a trade of doing so. These people fix on a piece of woodland, clear the trees away from off a few acres, build a house and barn, and then sell the land and improvements the first opportunity that offers. When this is accomplished, they probably travel one, two, or three hundred miles before they settle on another wood farm, which they clear, build on, and dispose of in the same manner as the first. These men must generally be excluded, in point of character, from the honest, stationary American loyalists. Those who make a trade of levelling the forest, will run in debt and cheat whenever they can; yet, like private vices which often become public benefits, these men are useful in their own way, being the pioneers that open the roads to the remote districts.

Few people, however, find themselves sooner at their ease than the Highland Scotch; no class can encounter difficulties or suffer privations with more hardihood, or endure fatigue with less repining. They acquire what they consider an independence in a few years; but they remain, in too many instances, contented with their condition, when they find themselves in possession of more ample means than they possessed in their native country. This observation is, however, more applicable to those who settled from thirty to forty years ago in America, and who retain many of the characteristics which prevailed at that time in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. I have observed, that wherever the Highlanders form dis-

tinct settlements, their habits, their system of husbandry, disregard for comfort in their houses, their ancient hospitable customs, and their language, undergo no sensible change. They frequently pass their winter evenings reciting traditionary poems in Gaelic, which have been transmitted to them by their forefathers; and I have known many who might, with more propriety, be called faithful counterparts of the Highlanders who fought at Culloden, than can now, from the changes which have during the last fifty years taken place, be found in any part of Scotland. In many instances, as warm a veneration for the royal house of Stuart exists among the old Highlanders who settled, about forty years ago, in different parts of America, as was ever felt in Scotland; but with this difference, that they are sincerely and faithfully attached to the present royal family. The enthusiasm of those brave Celts is by no means of a rebellious and turbulent nature. They merely cherish a kind and filial remembrance for persons whom they consider to have been unfortunate, and for whom all the associations of childhood created respect. Nothing contributed to produce these feelings more than the legendary tales, songs, and music of the Highlanders. That statesman knew the human character well who said, "Let me write the songs of my country, and, let who will make the laws, I will rule the people."

There is scarcely a Highland settlement in North America in which there is not a piper, who plays with great spirit the same wild martial music which has for centuries resounded among the mountains

and glens of Lochaber, Rannoch, and Aberfoil. At their weddings, and often at their dances, and even at their militia musters, the piper is considered indispensable. At their dances within doors, they, however, generally prefer the old Highland fiddler, or the young one who has learnt the same music, which is at all times played with the spirit and rapidity of which the Scotch reels and strathspeys are so eminently susceptible.

Their dancing is assuredly at the very antipodes of our fashionable quadrilling; with them every muscle and limb is actively and rapidly engaged, and they often maintain the floor till one, whose strength of body or lungs is weaker than that of the others, yields to the fatigue, and sits down. They have always dances at their marriages, and also when the bride arrives at her lord's house. Christmas is also with them the season of making merry. The Lowland Scotch have dances much in the same way and on the same occasions; indeed, they mix much with each other, as the neighbours are generally, be they of what country they may, all invited. The Highlanders are as superstitious in America as they are, or were, in Scotland, believing in second sight, ghosts, and prognostics of good or evil fortune.

Of the Highlanders who settled in America about fifty years ago, there are numbers still living in excellent health and spirits, although from seventy to ninety years of age. They relate the tales of their early days, and the recollections of their native land, with enthusiastic rapture; and the wish to tread once

more on ground sacred to their dearest feelings, and hallowed from containing the ashes of their ancestors, seems paramount to the ties of property and every connexion which binds them to a country in which they have so long been domiciliated. There are but few indeed that I ever met with in any part of America, who do not, in a greater or less degree, feel a lingering wish to see their native country; and although prudence or necessity forbids their doing so, yet nothing appears to destroy the warm affection they retain for the land where they first drew breath. This feeling descends to all their offspring born in America, and all call the United Kingdom by the endearing name of "home."

Various circumstances connected with Scotland, make the attachment which her children retain for a country to which destiny allows but few of them to return, differ widely from what is usually observed among the natives of England or Ireland. Among the latter, indeed, both the recollection of their country and an affection for relatives are strong, but the distress to which they were inured, under the peculiar circumstances of their native country, seems to have extinguished an attachment which would otherwise have been warmly cherished.

The honest pride of an Englishman makes him consider every country inferior to his own, nor can he on earth discover a nation so eminently blessed as England is with comforts and advantages; but, when abroad, he seems to think too much of its many sources of enjoyment, and to sigh too frequently for

its sports and amusements, to support that spirit which is the soul of adventure. All these feelings are natural, but they check the ardour which conquers difficulties.

With the native of North Britain, not only does the education he receives at school, and the principles inculcated at the fire-side of his parents, impress on him, as well as the usual course of instruction does on the native of England, that correctness and propriety of conduct are essential to form a character that will succeed in the world, as well as gain the confidence of mankind; but the lessons of early life infuse also, among the lower and middle classes in Scotland, a spirit which will endure the greatest hardships without repining, wherever a manifest utility is to be attained.

The pride of rising in the world, the consciousness that friends left behind will be gratified and elated on learning that prosperity attends one's pursuits, and the natural ascendency which one acquires in society, by the superior and successful exertion of one's abilities, are, altogether, motives that have an irresistible influence over the character and actions of the majority of those who have left Scotland for other countries. The vast numbers of them also who meet abroad, form attachments, which the recollections of early days, and conversing on circumstances connected with their native land, strengthen and maintain. This alone is the cause of their assisting, and their associating so much with, each other in distant countries.

The amusements of the farmers and other inhabitants settled in the British colonies, are much the same as they have been accustomed to, before leaving the countries from whence they came. Dances on many occasions are common; families visit each other at Christmas and New-Year's-Day; and almost all that is peculiar to Scotland at the season of "Hallowe'en" is repeated. Among the young men, feats of running, leaping, and gymnastic exercises, are common; but that in which they most delight in is galloping up and down the country on horseback. Indeed, many of the farmers' sons, who could make a certain livelihood by steady labour, acquire a spirit for bargain-making, dealing in horses, timber, old watches, &c., in order to become what they consider (by being idle) gentlemen; those who lead this course of life seldom do any good, and generally turn out lazy, drunken, dishonest vagabonds.

The insufferable forwardness of many of the sons of very worthy and industrious men who emigrated at different periods to America, is truly disgusting. Their fathers, by steady labour and honesty, have generally some valuable property in land and cattle. The sons, observing few in better circumstances than themselves, begin to think, especially if they have been taught a little learning by a straggling Irish schoolmaster, or by a disbanded soldier, that they should not work as their fathers have done; that "scheming" or "head-work" will answer much better; and they consequently acquire, in a short time, the vices, principles, and manners of the worst of the

Americans. I quite agree with Mr Howison, when he says, " that the *ne plus ultra* of impudence, rascality, and villainy, is comprehended in the epithet *Scotch Yankee*."

The term *frolic* is peculiar, I believe, to America, in the different senses in which it is there used. If a goodwife has a quantity of wool or flax to spin, she invites as many of her neighbours as the house can well accommodate; some bring their spinning-wheels, others their cards. They remain all day at work; and, after drinking abundance of tea, either go home, or remain to dance for some part of the night. This is called a " spinning frolic."

They are on these occasions, as well as at other frolics, joined by the young men of the settlement, and in this way many of their love-matches are made up. When a farmer or new settler wants a piece of wood cut down, he procures a few gallons of rum to drink on the occasion, and sends for his neighbours to assist him in levelling the forest. This is again called a " chopping frolic."

In New Brunswick, and other parts where husking Indian corn is a matter of some moment, the young men and women assemble for the purpose of performing the job. On these occasions, which they call " husking frolics," they have rare frolics indeed; tumbling and kissing each other among the corn, forming a prominent share in the amusement.

CHAPTER XIII.

Acadian French.

THE present condition of the Acadians, and the leading particulars of their eventful history, are both subjects too interesting to be omitted in an account of Nova Scotia, although we now find them settled in distinct villages throughout New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, and the district of Gaspè. For many years after the first French adventurers resorted to Nova Scotia, the cultivation of the soil was neglected for hunting, fishing, and the fur trade. The rich intervales, however, and the vast marshes which abounded within the basins of Minas and Chignecto, with the fertile lands of Port Royal or Annapolis River, at length riveted the industry of the Acadians to grazing and husbandry, and secured to them all that was necessary to render their condition as happy as can probably ever be the lot of humanity. They became strongly attached to the country, and they formed a simple, moral, and contented peasantry, who, when Nova Scotia was finally ceded, in 1710, to the Crown of England, had, by regularity of conduct and steady industry, attained to affluent circumstances, in so far as possession of

extensively cultivated farms, and large herds of cattle, can constitute riches.

For a long time after they changed masters, they remained unmolested; and in giving an account of the Acadians at that period, I cannot omit the beautiful, and, I believe, just, picture of their condition drawn by the Abbé Raynal.

"Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country, that the Acadians," says the Abbé, "who, in submitting to a new yoke, had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called French neutrals.

"No magistrate was ever appointed to rule over them, and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them, and they were equally strangers to him.

"Hunting, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might still have supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marshes and lowlands, by repelling the sea and rivers which covered these plains with dikes. These grounds at first yielded fifty times as much as before, and afterwards twenty times as much at least. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common.

"At the same time they had immense meadows,

with numerous flocks. Sixty thousand head of horned cattle were computed there, and most of the families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen.

" The habitations, built chiefly of wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe. The people bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, and which was, in general, wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cider, to which they sometimes added rum.

" Their usual clothing was, in general, the produce of their own flax and hemp, or the fleeces of their own sheep; with these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louisburg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs.

" The neutral French had no other articles to dispose of among their neighbours, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves, because each family was able, and had been used, to provide for its wants. They therefore knew nothing of paper currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of specie which had stolen into the colony, did not promote that circulation, which is the greatest advantage that can be derived from it.

" Their manners were of course extremely simple. There never was a cause, either civil or criminal, of

importance enough to be carried before the Court of Judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them, were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which, and their religious services, the inhabitants voluntarily gave them a twenty-seventh part of their harvest.

" These were plentiful enough to support more than a sufficiency for every act of liberality. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved before it was felt, and good was universally dispensed without ostentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the person who received. These people were, in a word, a society of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

" So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connexions of gallantry, which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages ; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion of flocks. This

family grew up and prospered like the others. They altogether amounted to eighteen thousand souls."

The Abbé continues to observe :—

"Who will not be affected with the innocent manners, and the tranquillity of this fortunate colony? Who will not wish for the duration of its happiness? Who will not construct in imagination an impenetrable wall, that may separate these colonists from their unjust and turbulent neighbours? The calamities of the people have no period; but, on the contrary, the end of their felicity is always at hand. A long series of favourable events is necessary to raise them from misery, while one instant is sufficient to plunge them into it. May the Acadians be exempted from this general curse! But, alas! it is to be feared they will not."*

The fears of Raynal were too truly realized. I have already briefly observed, in a former chapter, the miserable dispersion of the Acadians. Their sufferings in the southern colonies, to which they were transported, were severe and undeserved. They were treated not like innocent men, but, as if they were condemned convicts.

They were accused of having joined the troops from Canada; but those who did so, pleaded being forced to join their countrymen; and certainly a great share of their misfortunes must be laid to the charge of the French at Canada and Cape Breton.

* History of the East and West Indies, by the Abbé Raynal. Vol. v. p. 312, et seq.

But again, their accusers were their judges, and they were visited with punishment, the severity of which can never be defended.

The ardent attachment which they cherished for Nova Scotia during their exile, is forcibly and feelingly expressed by them, in the language of their petition to his Majesty George the Second.* After stating their conscientious scruples as to the oath required of them; and their being forcibly carried away from the province to uncongenial climates, this memorial concludes:

"Thus we, our ancient parents and grand-parents (men of great integrity and approved fidelity to your Majesty,) and our innocent wives and children, became the unhappy victims to those groundless fears; we were transported into the English colonies, and this was done in so much haste, and with so little regard to our necessities and the tenderest ties of nature, that, from the most social enjoyments and affluent circumstances, many found themselves destitute of the necessaries of life: parents were separated from children, and husbands from wives, some of whom have not to this day met again; and we were so crowded in the transport vessels, that we had not room even for all our bodies to lay down at once, and consequently were prevented from carrying with us proper necessaries, especially for the support and comfort of the aged and weak, many of whom quickly ended their misery with their lives; and even those

* Note L.

amongst us who had suffered deeply from your Majesty's enemies, on account of their attachment to your Majesty's government, were equally involved in the common calamity, of which Réné Leblanc, the notary-public before mentioned, is a remarkable instance : he was seized, confined, and brought away among the rest of the people, and his family, consisting of twenty children, and about one hundred and fifty grand-children, were scattered in different colonies, so that he was put on shore at New York, with only his wife and two youngest children, in an infirm state of health, from whence he joined three more of his children at Philadelphia, where he died without any more notice being taken of him than of us, notwithstanding his many years' labour and deep sufferings for your Majesty's service.

" The miseries we have since endured are scarce sufficiently to be expressed, being reduced, for a livelihood, to toil and hard labour in a southern clime, so disagreeable to our constitutions, that most of us have been prevented by sickness from procuring the necessary subsistence for our families ; and are therefore threatened with that which we esteem the greatest aggravation of all our sufferings, even of having our children forced from us, and bound out to strangers, and exposed to contagious distempers unknown in our native country.

" This, compared with the affluence and ease we enjoyed, shows our condition to be extremely wretched. We have already seen, in this province of Penn-

sylvania, two hundred and fifty of our people, which is more than half the number that were landed here, perish through misery and various diseases. In this great distress and misery, we have, under God, none but your Majesty to look to with hopes of relief and redress. We therefore hereby implore your gracious protection, and request you may be pleased to let the justice of our complaints be truly and impartially enquired into, and that your Majesty would please to grant us such relief, as in your justice and clemency you will think our case requires, and we shall hold ourselves bound to pray, &c."

This petition was disregarded, and the Acadians were allowed to pine, and many of them to die, in the southern colonies. Those who were afterwards allowed to return, settled where they best could, as the lands they previously possessed were occupied by others; and the Acadians are now to be found (as before mentioned) in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, and the district of Gaspè, always by themselves in distinct villages. They still continue averse to settling among other people; and I have not been able to discover more than four instances of their intermarrying with strangers. They profess the Roman Catholic faith, and observe the most rigid adherence to all the forms of their church. On Sunday, we observe a decorum and simplicity in the appearance of the Acadians, men, women, and children, that reminds us of what we read of the amiable manners of primitive ages. Their

general character is virtuous, honest, and inoffensive. Religiously tenacious of their dress, and all the habits of their forefathers, they have no ambition to rise in the world above the condition in which they have lived since their first settling in America. The dread of being exposed to the derision of the rest, for attempting to imitate the English inhabitants, and the want of an education that would conquer prejudices, are the principal causes that prevent individuals among them, who would willingly alter their dress and habits, from doing so.

In Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Richibucto, Magdalene Islands, and the River St John, the Acadian women dress nearly in the same way as the Bavarian broom girls, with small neat calico caps, and sometimes a *coiffe* or handkerchief tied over the head. Their petticoats of woollen stuff are liberally formed as to breadth, striped red, white, and blue, thickly plaited in large folds at the waist, but they seldom reach within six inches of the ankle; they usually wear blue stockings. On Sunday, their clothes and linen look extremely clean and neat; and they wear over their shoulders a small blue cloth cloak, reaching only half-way down the body, and generally fastened at the breast with a brass brooch. On week days they are more carelessly dressed, and they usually wear *sabots* (wooden shoes). The men dress in round blue jackets, with strait collars, and metal buttons set close together; blue or scarlet waistcoats, and blue trowsers, with sometimes the Bonnet Rouge, but generally round hats. Among all the Acadians in Prince Edward Island, I never knew but one per

son who had the hardihood to dress differently from what they call " notre façon." On one occasion he ventured to put on an English-made coat, and he has never since, even among his relations, been called by his proper name, Joseph Gallant, which has been supplanted by that of " Joe Peacock."

At Arichat, the Acadians, both men and women, sometimes depart in their dress from the fashions of the Acadians, and wear coats and gowns made in the English fashion.

At Caraquette, I observed also a partial deviation from their usual dress : some of the men wearing coats, and a few of the women wearing gowns. The head-dress of the women on the south side of the Bay de Chaleur, is, I believe, peculiar to themselves. Instead of the Bavarian-like small caps worn by all the other Acadians, they delight in immense muslin caps, in shape like a balloon.

The women are always industrious ; and in the fishing settlements they are perfect drudges. The men, after splitting the fish, leave the whole labour of curing to the women, who have also to cook, nurse their children, plant their gardens, gather what little corn they raise, and spin and weave coarse cloth. The old worn clothes they either cut into small strips, and weave as waft into coarse bed-covers, or they untwist the threads into wool, which they again spin and make into cloth.

The occupations of the Acadians depend much upon their local situation. In Arichat, Magdalene Islands, Rustico, Tracady, the Bay Chaleur, and some other places, where they principally follow fishing,

they are not in such easy circumstances as at Clare, Cumberland, and some places in Prince Edward Island, where they chiefly depend on agriculture. Wherever we discover the Acadians depending on the cultivation of their lands, we find them nearly approaching the condition of their ancestors as described by Raynal. They marry very young, five to thirty couple at one time in the same chapel, are very affectionate to their children; and the husband seldom makes a bargain or enters on any project without first consulting his *femme*. Domestic virtue they may lay an eminent claim to. One instance in a thousand cannot probably be discovered of a child being born out of wedlock. They have large families, and their children, when young, are fat and chubby, but few are so when they grow up.

The Acadians are nearly destitute of education; scarcely any of the women, and few of the men, can read or write; and, like all ignorant people, it matters not of what religion, they are exceedingly bigoted and superstitious.*

* The following anecdote was related to me by different persons in Prince Edward Island:—At St Eleanor's, Colonel Compton, to whom the township of St Eleanor belongs, lived about thirty years ago. Near his house is a small river, the entrance of which opens early in the spring, at which time it is usually frequented by flocks of wild-geese. St Eleanor's was then populously settled with Acadian French; and during the residence of Colonel Compton, one of the inhabitants (Louis Gallant) died without the usual consolatory attendance of a clergyman, there being but one priest at the time on the island, who lived about seventy miles distant, and who could not, it appears, come in time to hear the confession of the dying man. Louis, it seems, was one of those Acadians who did

Most of the men understand English, but French is, and will long continue to be, their language. It is a still more corrupted *patois* than that spoken by the Canadians ; but they perfectly understand French as spoken in France. Dancing, fiddling, and feasting,

not surrender when the island was taken ; and while lurking about in the woods, he found two Englishmen sleeping, during the summer heat, under the shade of a tree. Louis, considering them his natural enemies, as well as the conquerors of his country, felt no scruple in killing them with his hatchet. The murder, however, made Louis miserable, and his conscience was a most troublesome one to him as long as he lived, although his dying hour only developed the mysterious cause of his misery. A little after his death, a solitary wild-goose made its appearance in the opening of the ice at the mouth of the river, near the village of St Eleanor's. The young men, who were all considered such good shots as to be able to hit a goose at a hundred yards distance with a musket-ball, fired frequently but ineffectually at this one, which they at last began to think invulnerable. At this time there was on a visit at Colonel Compton's an Irish officer belonging to the troops stationed at Charlotte Town. He had with him an excellent double-barrelled gun, and the Acadians beseeched him to try its virtues by shooting the wonderful goose. He accompanied them, crept within shot of the object, and being (although a Catholic himself) amused at their superstitious fears, he, at the moment he was apparently going to fire, started up as if in great terror, and told the Acadians that no one must attempt firing again at what they took for a wild-goose, that his gun possessed the peculiar and wonderful property, when he aimed with it at a supernatural object, of exhibiting it to him in its proper form, and that what they had vainly attempted to shoot, was the ghost of Louis, who would doubtless haunt St Eleanor's until a clergyman was sent for to deliver his soul from the pains of purgatory. A deputation of young men was immediately dispatched for the priest, the goose disappeared, and the good Acadians rejoiced in having performed a religious duty, which the felicity of their lost friend rendered necessary.

at Christmas, at Mardi-Gras, before Lent, and feasting at or after Easter, are their principal sources of amusement or indulgence.

They labour under the impression that justice is not, under the British government, administered impartially to them in the courts of law; and this has arisen perhaps entirely from the conduct of the justices of the peace, many of whom, appointed in the settlements, are stupid, ignorant men; and I regret to say, that I have often known them to make iniquitous and unjust decisions against the Acadians.

The descendants of the French, settled in the north side of the Bay de Chaleur, are mostly Acadians; but, from their intimate intercourse with Quebec and the Canadians, are a more intelligent people than the other Acadians, whom they, as well as the Canadians, denominate "Les Sauvages." This appellation is owing to some of the Acadians having, in consequence of their ancestors marrying Indian women, the indication of Micmac blood apparent in their countenances. The Acadians have swarthy complexions, seldom fair hair, are generally well made, but the men are very rarely inclined to corpulency. The women are usually under the middle stature, with thick waists and ungainly figures. The features of their faces are, however, generally regular, with fine eyes and expressive countenances.

CHAPTER XIV.

Negroes from the United States—Sierra Leone Company—Fatal Consequences of removing the Negroes from Nova Scotia to Africa—Maroons sent from Jamaica to Halifax—Removed also to Africa—Chesapeake Negroes settled at Hammond Plains and Prescot—Wretched Condition.

THE negro slaves who were brought to the province from the United States at different times, were, whenever they chose, liberated; and after the American Revolution, some hundreds of freed negroes emigrated to Nova Scotia. The mistaken philanthropy of the Sierra Leone Company caused the removal of eleven hundred and ninety-six of these people in 1792, at extraordinary expense, in sixteen vessels, to Africa; sixty-five of them died during the voyage, and many of the remainder became victims to a climate not congenial to them, although it was naturally so to their ancestors. The rest became turbulent and ungovernable.

Some time after, three ships, with the rebellious Maroons of Jamaica, arrived at Halifax. Great but unsuccessful efforts were made to settle these people in the province. For some time their labour at the fortifications, and their obedience to authority, while well fed and clothed, occasioned them to be consi-

dered rather an acquisition than a burden to the colony. They were afterwards enrolled as a militia corps, and, in a warm climate, would have made good soldiers, as they were passionately fond of arms. It was also attempted to convert them to religion, in which, however, there does not appear to have been the least progress made; a plurality of wives, or rather women, and the African burial ceremonies, they declared they would never abandon; and, in short, they only listened to the ministers of religion with contumely.

Two or three hard winters, however, produced sulky discontent among them, and they evinced a determined reluctance to work for themselves. Although they were housed and fed without working, and allowed to indulge themselves in their accustomed sensuality, and card-playing, the spring only brought about fresh murmurs and complaints, alleging that the various engagements intimated to them on leaving Jamaica were disregarded; and after costing the island of Jamaica L.47,000, and the British Government L.10,000 annually for some years, they were, in 1800, also removed to Sierra Leone.

The folly of making Nova Scotia a rendezvous for freed negroes, was not yet however completed. While a British squadron was blockading the American coast, in 1815, some hundreds of negroes fled from their masters, and were received by the English Admiral, who sent them to Halifax. These people became idle vagrants, rather than stationary settlers. Although lands were laid out for them, and tools,

implements of husbandry, and rations, were provided for them during winter by government, they became sulky and discontented. They thought that to be free, meant to be idle, in fact, to live without working. A few of them stole off to the United States, ninety of them were removed at the public expense to Trinidad; and, as if nothing else were wanting to crown the folly of this most absurd philanthropy, one million,—I believe the sum is correct, but I speak from memory,—was granted to the United States as a compensation for these negroes. The Americans themselves sneer at this ultra stretch of English generosity, and it has actually gone a great way to strengthen the common impression among them, that there is nothing too unreasonable to ask of, or with which to gull, honest, credulous, kind-hearted John Bull.

Slavery does not exist in Nova Scotia, and the number of freed negroes may be equal to three thousand. Of these, part came originally from the West India Islands; others are the residue of those from the United States; and the remainder were born in the province. A settlement was laid out for them at Hammond Plains, and another at Prescot, both in the neighbourhood of Halifax, and every facility afforded them by the provincial government; yet they are still in a state of miserable poverty, while Europeans, who have settled on woodlands, under circumstances scarcely so favourable, thrive with few exceptions. There are at Halifax, and in most of the country settlements, several negroes who live as domestic servants among the inhabitants, and in this

condition they are generally industrious, obedient, and well provided with food and clothing. We find them also on board the ships as sailors, but more frequently as stewards and cooks. There are not, probably, ten exceptions to be found among all the negroes in the province who are their own masters, that are not indolent, improvident, miserable, and ragged. They gather wild fruits in summer, which they sell in the Halifax market, and in winter they bring in brooms, which they dispose of for rum, and what food they can get. They seem inclined indeed to do any thing, and even meet starvation in the face, rather than cultivate the ground with patient industry. They think the returns for their labour too slow, too distant to wait for until the seed they sow produce a crop. Whether their wretchedness may be attributed to servitude and degradation having extinguished in them the spirit that endures present difficulties and privations, in order to attain future advantages; or to the consciousness that they are an unimportant and distinct race; or, more properly, to the fact, that they find it more congenial to their habits to serve others, either as domestic servants or labourers, by which they make sure of the wants of the day—certain it is that they prefer servitude, and always live more comfortably in that condition than they do when working on their own account.

Thirteen years after they were settled at Hammond Plains, I had the opportunity of knowing their condition. It was wretched in the extreme. The grown up and the aged in rags, and the children nearly

naked. Their habitations, destitute of furniture or common necessaries, were also unfit to defend them from the inclemency of winter. To a man unacquainted with our possessions abroad, it might be difficult to account for the poverty-stricken and unhappy condition of these unfortunate beings. To me the causes of their penury and misery were distinct and evident. The surrounding settlements, though the lands of which were not originally of better, and in some cases not of equally good quality to that occupied by the negroes, were cultivated by emigrants, who arrived in the colony from time to time, with nothing but their industry to acquire the means of living. They received no public assistance, and they had all to pay some pounds before they secured titles to the lands on which they settled ; yet I found these people, with very few exceptions, in comfortable circumstances, with their houses commodious and conveniently furnished, their farms well cultivated, themselves and their families well clothed, their tables well supplied with excellent food, their moral character correct, their attention to public worship regular, and the instruction of their offspring attended to. What then has secured to them all these blessings ? neither more nor less than persevering industry and good management.

Then to what are we to attribute the penury and the misery of the freed negroes of Nova Scotia, to whom the legislature have yearly afforded assistance, and to whom the blessings of religion and the benefits of education have been as fully extended as to

the other inhabitants of the province? To no cause but the absence of steady well-directed industry, and judicious management.

We then come to enquire, how does it arise that the freed negroes are an indolent, improvident class of men? To account for this fact, we have only to reflect that man, in order to husband and manage the fruits of his labour, as well as to regulate his moral conduct, must be trained from infancy, by example and education, so as to render such a course of life natural and desirable to him; and by which means alone, will he be prepared in due season to act prudently or wisely on his own responsibility.

The previous life of the negro is so very different from that of Europeans, that even when in Africa, in his freest state, it would require the operations of useful and liberal instruction for more than one generation, to adapt him for acting, according to his own free will, with the steady industry, good management, and discretion, necessary to render his condition equally happy with that of the husbandmen and artisans of Europe, or of their descendants settled in America.

It is far from my wish, in making these observations, to inculcate the revolting doctrine, that slavery is the most happy condition in which negroes can live; but all my observations, in our colonies, have led me to conclude, unbiassed by prejudice or by interest, that the attempts hitherto made to render the freed negroes more happy or more virtuous than they were as slaves, have been unsuccessful; and

that unless the West India negroes be gradually prepared for personal liberty, they will, on obtaining their freedom, become objects of much greater commiseration than they now are in a state of bondage; and the history and present condition of the freed negroes of Nova Scotia fully substantiate these assertions.

NOTES TO BOOK I.

Note A, page 7.

Beautiful specimens of agate, jasper, chalcedony, amethyst, &c., are found along the coast of the Bay of Fundy. A number of the American Journal of Science for 1828, (which, from having mislaid, I cannot refer to,) contains much interesting information respecting the mineralogy of the western part of the province, communicated by Mr Jackson, and Mr Alger of Boston, who travelled over a great part of the country.

Note B, page 23.

"In 1634, La Tour arrived at the harbour of Boston, in a ship having one hundred and forty men on board; the master and crew of which were Protestants of Rochelle. He stated to the governor that his fort on the River St John was besieged by his rival, and that he had come for the purpose of seeking aid to remove him. Recourse was had to the Bible, as was usual with the Puritans on all doubtful occasions, to discover if possible some case which would, by analogy, apply to the present, and furnish a rule for their conduct. On the one hand, it was said the speech of the Prophet to Jehoshaphat, in 2d Chronicles, xix., 2, and the portion of Solomon's Proverbs contained in chap. xxvi., 17th verse, not only discharged them from any obligation, but actually forbid them to assist La Tour; while, on the other hand, it was agreed that it was as lawful for them to give him succour, as it was for Joshua to aid the Gibeonites against the rest of the Canaanites, or for Jehoshaphat to aid Jehoram against Moab, in which expedi-

tion Elisha was present, and did not reprove the King of Judah. These conflicting authorities divided their councils, and though either course was sanctioned by Scripture, it did not appear that there was any certain rule on the subject, while the safest course was to adhere to the old maxim, *Dubia causa bellum non est suscipiendum.*"—HALIBURTON'S *Nova Scotia*, p. 54.

NOTE C, page 31.

"LE PERE RALLE, who had been a missionary among the savages for forty years, resided at Noridgewaak at this time, and had erected a church there. They loved and idolized him, and were at all times ready to hazard their lives for his preservation. He was conversant with the English and Dutch languages, and master of the several dialects of the Abenaquis nation. His literary attainments, though of little use to him in such a situation, appear to have been very respectable; and his Latin, in which he generally addressed those gentlemen at Boston with whom he had occasionally a controversial correspondence, was pure, classical, and elegant. As both those persons (the Baron Castine and Le Pere Rallè) were supposed to have instigated the Indians to hostility, as well in Nova Scotia as on the confines of New England, and were in the immediate interest of the Governor of Canada, they became very obnoxious to the English." Charlvoix informs us, "that La Pere Rallè, though unprepared, was not intimidated, and advanced towards the English in order to attract their attention to him, and thus screen his flock by the voluntary offer of his own life. As soon as he was discovered, he was saluted with a shout, and a shower of bullets, and fell, together with seven Indians, who had rushed out of their tents to shelter him with their bodies, at the foot of a cross which he had erected in the middle of the village." He adds, "that the savages, when the pursuit had ceased, returned to weep over their beloved missionary; and that they found his body perforated with balls, his head scalped, his skull broken with hatchets, his mouth and eyes filled with mud, the bones of his legs fractured, and his limbs dreadfully mangled. After having bathed his remains with their tears, they buried him in the site of the

chapel, where the preceding evening he had celebrated the sacred rites of religion."—HALIBURTON's *Nova Scotia*, p. 104.

NOTE D, page 75.

DURING the session of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, in December last (1830,) the dispute between the Council and House of Assembly has been most satisfactorily adjusted, and the most perfect harmony restored, with the determination of both to coalesce in carrying into effect whatever may promote the public good.

NOTE E, page 81.

A VERY interesting military spectacle—a sham fight—took place at Halifax last August (1830). The 24th regiment of foot, commanded by Colonel Fox, with the volunteer militia companies, represented the enemy; and the 8th, under Colonel Cathcart, and the 52d, under Colonel Fergusson, defended the peninsula of Halifax. After several counterfeit, but apparently real, desperate rencontres, the enemy of course was defeated, and compelled to retreat from the town and fortification.

NOTE F, page 86.

IN December 1828, I returned in one of the Halifax Company's ships to England. We made our voyage in eighteen days. The rapidity of the passage, and the comfortable arrangements of the ship, made the voyage appear little more than a pleasure excursion on the water. The living was sumptuous: *déjeûner à la fourchette*, the prominent materials of which, with coffee, tea, bread, butter, and eggs, were cold fowls, ham, tongue, cold beef, hot beef-steaks, and fish. Luncheon at twelve; dinner at three, in which the courses were chosen from the well-supplied stores of fresh beef, mutton, turkeys, geese, fowls, hams, tongue, and fish, with abundance of puddings, cheese, fruits, spirits, wines, and malt liquors.

Tea and supper afterwards followed in due time for those who chose to partake of them. So that with feasting, walking on deck for exercise, conversation, books, cards, and sleep, the time passed by most rapidly; and it was somewhat difficult to think, on entering the river Mersey, that Halifax was two thousand five hundred miles distant.

Note G, page 104.

The rivers which flow through the southern part of Nova Scotia, rise principally at the foot of a range of hills situated in the interior, between Argyle Bay and Annapolis Basin, and called the Blue Mountains. The Indians are said to have formerly resorted periodically to groves among those wilds, which they considered as consecrated places, in order to offer sacrifices to their Gods.

Note H, page 122.

The regulation which stipulated that students, on their matriculation at Windsor College, should subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, has, since the text was printed, been wisely dispensed with, except as respects those who take degrees in divinity.

Note I, page 136.

A sandy cove, near Cape George, is called Malignant Cove, not from any evil connected with its history, nor from any forbidding feature in its appearance, but from the Malignant frigate having run ashore on its beach, to avoid the certain destruction of all on board, on the iron bound coast to the eastward.

Note K, page 175.

See Note H.

Note L, page 196.

Fragment.

The following, translated by a gentleman in Nova Scotia, was written by M. De Ch-t-l-n, one of the sufferers of 1755, and translated from the original French manuscript, in the Library of "L'Hôtel Dieu," Quebec:—

The Tears of Acadia.

"And must we from our native land depart?
Break—break asunder, oh my bleeding heart!
Driven from our altars, and our happy home—
Strangers and poor—through other realms to roam.
Our wives and infants share the direful fate—
Unspotted victims of tyrannic hate.
See them on bended knees, with tears o'erflown,
In our calamities lament their own.
Sever'd from father, brother, son, and friend,
Unheard of sorrows shall their steps attend.
Yet some sad trembling hope still flutters near,
That we shall meet again, though never here;
Meet to divide the mis'ries of our chain,
But never to enjoy a smile again!
* * * * * * * *
Our flocks shall follow strangers—now no choice,
Though still unknown to them the stranger voice.
Our faithful dogs may trace these *ruins* round,
And mourn the masters never to be found.
Oh never shall we tread the peaceful plain,
Where our brave fathers toil'd for us in vain!
Oh, never shall we see Acadia's shore—
Ours once, by Heaven's decree, but ours no more.
Our churches burn—behold the ascending glare,
Bearing to Heaven our agonizing prayer!
Eternal Judge, to whom revenge belongs,
Forbear to visit for our num'rous wrongs;
Let us in patience bow beneath the rod,
And say with Christ—'Thy will be done, oh God!'

—How shall we go?—Soldiers, some pity feel,
Nor goad the ling'ring exile with thy steel!
Let us one longing look behind us cast,
Our fathers' sepulchres demand the last.
'Tis done—and oh! what horrors rise to view!
Without a ray of light to cheer us through.
In foreign lands our days of woe to spend—
In foreign lands our hopeless days to end.
There will no sympathy for us be shown:
Unpitied all our tears—our cries unknown;
Our nation scorn'd—our faith despised as vain;
And ev'ry bigot* riveting our chain:
E'en when the wearied spirit seeks release,
No shepherd of our fold to whisper peace!
* * * * * * * *
Thus do the English fix our fatal doom,
And crown with woes our passage to the tomb!"

* *Visionnaire*, in the original.

BOOK II.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Boundaries—Geological Features—Minerals—Wild Animals—Fishes, &c.—Climate, &c.—Settlement of the Country—Sufferings of early Settlers—Governor Carleton—General Smyth—Sir Howard Douglas—Constitution—Administration of the Laws, &c.

THE province of New Brunswick extends from the River St Croix, which is considered the boundary line of the United States, to the Bay de Chaleur and the River Restigouche, which divide it from Canada. The greater part of this colony is yet in a wilderness state, although its soil, with the exception of a few rocky districts, principally on the Bay of Fundy coast, and several but not extensive swampy tracts, is rich and fertile.

The River St John, with its lakes and myriads of streams; the tributary waters of one side of the St Croix; the River Petit Coudiac; the Miramichi, with its majestic branches; the river Nipisighit, and many lesser rivers, open an inland navigation into almost every part of the province.

Dense forests cover nearly the whole country ; and the trees, which grow to an immense size are of the same kind and quality as already described under the head of forest trees. Pine abounds in greater plenty than in any of the other lower provinces. Birch, beech, and maple, are the prevailing hardwood trees.

The quality of the soil here, as elsewhere in America, may always be ascertained by the description of wood growing on it. Along the countless rivers of this province there are also innumerable tracts of what is termed intervale land : this kind of soil is alluvial, with detached trees of luxuriant growth, principally elm, maple, and black birch, and butternutt ; and is, like the lands of the Nile, annually irrigated and enriched by the overflowing of the rivers. In several parts of the interior country, generally along small brooks, are wild meadows, caused originally by the industry of the beaver, in consequence of the irrigation of a flat tract by the water, arrested by the dams constructed by these animals.

The aspect of the coast of New Brunswick, along the Bay of Fundy, is generally rugged, and the soil near the shore stubborn and difficult to cultivate.

The geology of the province is very imperfectly known. Limestone, greywacke, clay-slate, with sandstone, interrupted occasionally by gneiss, trap, and granite, seem to prevail on the southern coast. Among these, however, calcareous rock appears to predominate. Marble, of fair pretensions to beauty, abounds at Kennebecasis, and probably in other parts

of the country. Coal is plentiful, and iron ore abundant. Copper, plumbago, and manganese, have also been found, and great research may likely discover many other minerals. Gypsum and grindstone are abundant near Chignecto Basin.

Along the shores of this province, facing the Gulf of St Lawrence and Chaleur Bay, sandstone prevails. Grey sandstone and clay-slate seem to predominate, as far as I could observe, along the course of the Miramichi; among which, granite, mica, quartz, and ironstone, in detached rocks, occasionally occur. Specimens of amethyst, cornelian, jasper, &c., have been picked up in various places. Some sulphurous, or hepatic springs, of much the same properties as the waters of Harrowgate, have lately been found. Salt springs, strongly saturated, are believed to be numerous. Some of the salt produced by boiling the water of one of these springs was shown me, which resembled the finest table salt we have in England.

As we proceed from the sea-coast up the rivers of this province, the rich fertility of the country claims our admiration. A great flat district may be said to prevail from the parallel of the Long Reach, up the River St John, to the foot of Mars' Hill. High hills occasionally rise in ridges in various places, but no part of New Brunswick can be considered mountainous.

The scenery of the rivers, lakes, and cataracts, is generally picturesque and beautiful, and often wild and grandly romantic.

The wild animals are bears, moose-deer, and car-

riboo; foxes, loup-cerviers, tiger-cat, racoon, porcupine, martin, beaver, otter, mink, musquash, fisher, hare, weasel, &c. Most of the birds enumerated as common to America are also plentiful.

Along the coasts, cod, haddock, mackerel, and nearly all the kinds of fishes caught in the North American seas, are abundant; salmon, shad, bass, &c., frequent the rivers and shores; and a variety of other descriptions of fish, among which are chub, smelt, trout, eel, and perch, are plentiful in the streams or lakes. A kind of fish, called in New Brunswick cusk, and considered excellent eating, is caught in the rivers. I have not seen it elsewhere. It somewhat resembles the white fish of the Canada lakes, but is less in size, and quite a different species.

The climate of New Brunswick is salubrious; the epidemic fevers of the southern states are unknown; and colds, and their consequent diseases, can only be considered as common in this province. An erysipelatous disease, previously unknown in the country, made its appearance three or four years ago; at which time it prevailed also in Nova Scotia. It must have been produced by some peculiarity in the season of that year, or brought on by accidental circumstances. Consumption, although not apparently so common as in England, is the principal cause of death among the young, or those between twenty and thirty. Fevers, generally in the form of mild typhus, occur frequently in the beginning of winter, most probably for want of proper attention in fortifying

the body in time with additional clothing against the sudden change from warm to cold weather.

In a country like New Brunswick, where the inhabitants expose themselves so much to all the varieties of climate, and to the waters of the sea and rivers, rheumatism often afflicts the working classes, especially the lumberers, who are so often, during fall and spring, drenched in the remarkably cold waters of the rivers. The diseases, however, that are most fatal to life, are those brought to the province from other countries, principally by passenger-ships, such as fevers, small-pox, and measles. Generally speaking, the climate may be considered at least equally healthy as that of England.

The temperature of the climate of the southern parts is much milder than that of those parts which border on the Gulf of St Lawrence, the Bay de Chaleur, and Lower Canada. Sea-fogs frequently envelope the shores of the Bay of Fundy, and render the culture of wheat near the coast uncertain, but do not appear to cause any unhealthy consequences.

With the difference of more humidity in the southern coast, and a few miles inland, and that the harbours within the Bay of Fundy, at least from St John's to the State of Maine, are seldom long obstructed with ice, and the frosts in the northern parts being somewhat more severe, what I have observed in treating of the climate of America generally, will apply equally to this province.

The natural advantages of New Brunswick are equal to those of any wilderness country in America ;

and it requires only a great addition of industrious settlers to its present population, to secure its prosperity, and to make it one of the most important of his majesty's colonies. Its resources are great, and it is capable of maintaining at least three millions of inhabitants.

The history of New Brunswick is embodied with that of Nova Scotia, of which province it formed a part until 1785. The first settlement attempted by the British was in 1762, by a few families from New England, on the River St John, about fifty miles from its mouth, and named Maugerville.

These people experienced great misery, and met with many obstacles before they established themselves. The difficulties inseparable from settling in the finest wilderness country in the world, are sufficiently formidable and discouraging, but the hostile spirit of the Indians harassed them still more, and the savages were only at last appeased by the payment of large sums for the wild animals which the English colonists had killed.

During the American war, several other families left New England, and planted themselves on the lands adjoining Maugerville. This district became then the seat of the court of law, and obtained the name of Sunbury.

At the peace of 1783, there were about eight hundred inhabitants in this part of the province. They endured many hardships before they secured ample means to subsist on; but it appears, however, that private dissensions and separate interests formed no

small share of the evils that prevented their prosperity.

Three thousand persons from Nantucket arrived at the River St John in the spring succeeding the peace with America. Many of these were men who served during the war; twelve hundred more from the same place followed during the autumn of the same year. The sufferings of these settlers were extremely severe. They had previously enjoyed all the comforts which a country, subdued and cultivated by the endurance and industry of their forefathers, afforded, and they had all at once to encounter all the horrors of an approaching winter, without houses to shelter them, amid the wilds of New Brunswick. Their sufferings are described as follow, by a gentleman now residing at Fredericton, in a small pamphlet descriptive of the province :—" The difficulties," he says, " which the first settlers were exposed to, continued for a long time almost insurmountable. On their arrival, they found a few hovels where St John's is now built, the adjacent country exhibiting a most desolate aspect, which was peculiarly discouraging to people who had just left their homes in the beautiful and cultivated parts of the United States. Up the River St John, the country appeared better, and a few cultivated spots were found unoccupied by old settlers. At St Ann's, where Fredericton is now built, a few scattered French huts were found ; the country all round being a continued wilderness, uninhabited and untrodden, except by the savages and wild animals; and scarcely had these firm friends of

their country (American loyalists) began to construct their cabins, when they were surprised by the rigours of an untried climate ; their habitations being enveloped in snow before they were tenantable. The climate at that period, (from what cause has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained,) being far more severe than at present, they were frequently put to the greatest straits for food and clothing to preserve their existence ; a few roots were all that tender mothers could at times procure to allay the importunate calls of their children for food. Sir Guy Carleton had ordered them provisions for the first year, at the expense of government ; but, as the country was not much cultivated at that time, food could scarcely be procured on any terms. Frequently had these settlers to go from fifty to one hundred miles, with handsleds, or toboggans, through wild woods, or on the ice, to procure a precarious supply for their famishing families. The privations and sufferings of these people almost exceed belief. The want of food and clothing in a wild country was not easily dispensed with, or soon remedied. Frequently, in the piercing cold of winter, a part of the family had to remain up during the night to keep fire in their huts to prevent the other part from freezing. Some very destitute families made use of boards to supply the want of bedding ; the father, or some of the older children, remaining up by turns, and warming two suitable pieces of boards, which they applied alternately to the smaller children to keep them warm, with many similar expedients.

"Many of these loyalists were in the prime of life when they came to this country, and most of them had young families. To establish these they wore out their lives in toil and poverty, and by their unremitting exertions subdued the wilderness, and covered the face of the country with habitations, villages, and towns. I have not noticed these circumstances as if they were peculiar to the settlers of New Brunswick, but to hold up to the descendants of those sufferers the hardships endured by their parents; and to place in a striking point of view, the many comforts they possess by the suffering perseverance and industry of their fathers.

"Under the judicious and paternal care of Governor Carleton, assisted by several of the leading characters, many of the difficulties of settling an infant and distant country were lessened. The condition of the settlers was gradually ameliorated. The governor himself set a pattern, in which he was followed by several of the leading men in the different offices. A variety of grains and roots were cultivated with success, and considerable progress made in clearing the wilderness."

In 1785, a royal charter was granted to New Brunswick as a distinct province, and the administration confided to Governor Carleton. The safety of property, and the personal protection of the inhabitants, secured the improvement of the country; and its settlements, agriculture, and trade, advanced from this time with little interruption: the inhabitants following such pursuits as necessity directed, or those

that were most profitable, or at least agreeable to their inclinations.

Few men have been more anxious to promote the prosperity, and to guard the interests of a country committed to their care, than Governor Carleton. He left New Brunswick for England in 1803, where he resided until his death in 1817. During this period the government of the province was administered by presidents.

Major-General George Stracey Smyth was appointed lieutenant-governor in February 1817. He administered the government until his death in 1823, from which time it was held by Mr Chipman, as president, and afterwards by Mr Bliss, until the arrival of Major-General Sir Howard Douglas, Baronet, in August 1824, as lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief.

His administration has been uniformly directed to the welfare of the province. His indefatigable exertions to promote its agriculture and trade, to open roads through the country, and his anxious attention to the administration of justice, and the establishment of seminaries of education, merit the highest praise.

The constitution of New Brunswick is similar to that of Nova Scotia. The Council consists of twelve members, and the Legislative Assembly, which meets in winter, of twenty-six representatives. The courts are, the Courts of Chancery, of which the governor is chancellor. In the Supreme Court, which represents in its practice the King's Bench, one chief justice and three assistant justices preside. All important civil causes are decided, and all capital crimes tried in this

court. The salary of the chief justice is L.750, and that of the assistant justices L.500 each. The terms are in February, May, July, and October.

There is also an inferior court, or Court of Common Pleas, held in each of the counties, in which two or more justices preside. In this court petty crimes are tried, and civil causes of small amount are determined. It exercises also within the county extensive powers in the appointment of parish and police-offices, auditing parish accounts, regulating the licenses of public houses, and fixing such small parish assessments or county rates as may appear necessary.

Debts under five pounds are recovered before magistrates, who take cognizance also of breaches of the peace, as in England. The provincial laws are much the same as those of Nova Scotia, differing only in some instances, to accord with local circumstances.

The public burdens are so very similar to those of Nova Scotia, already described, and so trifling, that an account of them is unnecessary. The statute labour, and militia laws, also correspond. The revenue is raised by trifling imposts; and a casual revenue to the king arises from the rents of wild meadows, and lands belonging to the crown. The amount of the revenue raised by imposts and legislative enactments, averages about L.43,000. It is appropriated by the House of Assembly to the purposes of opening and improving of roads, erecting public buildings, encouraging agriculture and the fisheries, supporting seminaries of education, &c.

CHAPTER II.

Divisions of the Province—Description of the City and River of St John—Prairie—Suburbs of Portland and Carleton—Society—Lower Cataracts—Indian Town—Steam-boat—River Scenery—Grand Bay—Kennebecacis—Alwington Manor—Long Reach—Belle-Isle Bay—Washedemoak—Grand Lake, &c. FREDERICTON—Beauty of its Situation—Luxuriant Scenery—Public Buildings—Governor's House—New Brunswick College—River St John, continued—Woodstock—Beautiful Alluvial Islands—American Encroachments—Mars' Hill—Tributary Rivers—Grand Falls—Acadian Settlement at Madawaska—Route to Canada—Lake Tamisquata, &c.

THE representative constitution of the province, and the administration of justice, required that it should, like Nova Scotia, be divided into counties: these are—St John's, Westmoreland, Charlotte, Sunbury, Queen's, and York counties, through which last the River St John winds, and the county of Northumberland,* which fronts on the Gulf of St Lawrence and the Bay de Chaleur, and which is watered by the Miramichi, and other rivers.

The principal settlements are along the River St John and its lakes, on the north banks of the St Croix, on the Gulf of St Lawrence, on the River Miramichi, and on the shores of the Bay de Chaleur.

The corporate town, or city of St John, is situated

* Note A.

in 45° 20′ N. latitude, 66° 3′ W. longitude, on the southern declivity of a peninsula, and on the northern side of the entrance from the Bay of Fundy to the River St John.

On approaching St John's from the Bay of Fundy, the aspect of the country on each side is bold and rugged. Meogenes Island and several coves open to the left; a bold headland on the right, between which and Partridge Island, on which there is a lighthouse, is the proper entrance to the harbour. The town, with part of Carleton on the opposite side, opens to view at several miles distance; and the wooded mountainous background, and various additional picturesque features, with the masts of ships, wharfs, stores, houses of various sizes and colours, spires of churches, forts, and the beautiful range of new barracks, form altogether a very splendid picture.

The rise of the tide is from twenty-five to thirty feet. When the sea flows so as to cover the shores, the appearance of the Harbour of St John, viewed from Carleton, and all the surrounding objects which fill up the landscape, is beautiful and magnificent; but at low water the aspect of the front of the town, which exhibits muddy shores, high wharfs, and timber booms covered with slime, is exceedingly disagreeable. One of the most beautiful and extensive prospects of scenery is, however, from the heights on which are the ruins of Fort Howe, over that part or division of the town named Portland. The view from this station is really magnificent: the harbour, prairies, mountains, woods, a bird-eye view

of the town and shipping, a broad prospect of the Bay of Fundy, with Nova Scotia high and darkly blue in the distance, are its prominent features.

Fort Howe is now in ruins,—its position is very commanding. On the Carleton side, situated also on a commanding height, there is another fortification, and some guns are also planted on Partridge Island.

St John's is not the metropolis, although the largest town in the province. It is about half the size of Halifax, but contains nearly two-thirds as many dwelling-houses. The government and public buildings, if not splendid, are certainly handsome structures. The wharfs, with warehouses built either over them or immediately adjoining, and the private houses, closely resemble the buildings in Halifax. The ground on which the town is built is rocky and very irregular, and the forming and levelling of the streets required vast labour. Much improvement is still necessary to level them sufficiently for carriages to drive along agreeably; and the abruptness of some of the streets renders them very dangerous in winter.

The public buildings are, a very commodious and handsome stone court-house, built lately on the high ground above the middle of the town, a marine hospital, poor-house, and, of course, a jail. Previous to this period, the courts were held over the market-house, a very mean building.

There are two Episcopal churches; the oldest, built of wood, but painted so as to resemble white stone, is a very handsome edifice, with a pretty spire. The interior is arranged nearly in the same man-

ner as most modern English churches of the same size.

The new Episcopal church is a substantial edifice, built in the Gothic style, of rough stone, and its interior very handsomely planned and finished. Both these churches have good organs.

The Scotch kirk is a plain neat building, with a tall spire, and handsomely fitted up within. Besides these places of worship, there are a Catholic chapel, two or three Methodist chapels, and one Baptist meeting-house.

There is a respectable grammar school, a central school, on the Madras system, and some other institutions, principally Sunday schools, where the rudiments of education are taught.

There are also two or three Bible and religious societies, and the benevolent societies of St George, St Andrew, and St Patrick. The poor-house is made to answer also the purposes of an hospital.

The provincial bank, or, in reality, the bank of St John's, established under an act of the legislature, with a capital increased since its formation to L.50,000, has paid handsome dividends, and has been of great benefit, as well as occasional injury, to those engaged in trade. It facilitates sales by discounting promissory-notes at three months' date; but this accommodation is apt to tempt men into imprudent transactions. The directors, however, are said to guard with much caution against risks. When its stock was increased in 1824, by legislative enactment, the new shares sold at 175 per cent. There is also a

bank for savings; and a marine assurance company, established also by an act of the legislature, seems to prosper, and has hitherto been singularly fortunate in its risks. There are two public libraries, and a respectable news room, where the English, Colonial, and United States papers are taken.

The Chamber of Commerce is formed on much the same plan as that at Halifax. Four or five respectably-conducted weekly newspapers are published at St John's, one at Fredericton, one at St Andrew's, and one at Miramichi.

St John's is a corporate town, and styled a city. Its municipal government is lodged in a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and six assistants, designated, "Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of St John."

The other civil officers are a sheriff, coroner, town-clerk, chamberlain, two marshals, a high constable, and six petty constables.

The mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, and town or common clerk, hold their appointment of the governor, continuing in office from one year to another. The aldermen are elected annually by the freemen. The mayor and council appoint the other officers.

The mayor and council make laws for the improvement or government of the town, which expire in one year, unless confirmed by the governor and council; they have also an annual revenue at their command for public improvements, &c., and they constitute a Court of Record, or Common Pleas, for the "City and County of St John." Small debts are

recovered before an alderman's court, held once a-fortnight. The aldermen are all justices of the peace.

On the opposite side of the river to St John's, and under its municipal government, stands the pretty little town of Carleton, with a neat English church and a chapel. The saw-mills within the aboiteux, a little above this place, are well worth visiting. On the Point of Carleton several ships have been built.*

The upper part of St John's is named Portland, and the whole, including Carleton, is divided into six wards. Opposite to the town, in the middle of the stream, is Navy Island, small, low, and muddy; and, as the Indians would have it, carried down at one time by the stream in a body. It is evidently formed by alluvial deposits.

There are always some troops stationed at St John's; and the barracks, situated above the lower cove, and near the extremity of the peninsula, are spacious, handsome, and commodious.

The country in the vicinity is stubborn, but, when subjected to cultivation, fertile. An extensive prairie, named the marsh, containing about 3000 acres, and occupying a space, which is by some considered to have been once the bed of the River St John, lies near the town. The tide is shut out by an aboiteux, over which the road to Indian Town passes. The soil of this beautiful alluvial tract is remarkably rich, and neutralized by the application of lime, which is abundant in the neighbourhood.

* A fine vessel, intended for a steamer, was on the stocks when I visited this place.

There are several handsome houses along the rising grounds which follow the course of the prairie ; and their situation and appearance seem to render them desirable and comfortable residences.

As to the condition of society, I am not able to treat so explicitly as I have done in respect to Halifax, from having less intercourse with the inhabitants than a traveller could have wished. There were no public amusements there at the time, or if there had, these are not the places to draw a just picture of society. At both the churches, and at the Scotch kirk, the general appearance of the congregations was highly respectable ; and their dresses were in the fashions prevailing about a year previously in England. Two or three ladies, however, I observed dressed in the full Parisian style of 1828.

Many of the ladies are very pretty, but walk rather stiffly and affectedly. Of their manners or accomplishments I can say nothing. The gentlemen that I have had an opportunity of being acquainted with while there, or that I have met with from St John's in other places, were generally intelligent and well-bred.

From the information given me by people living in St John's, it would appear that a very tolerable share of bickerings and divisions prevails among the inhabitants ;—one family arrogating a rank and respect which others will not admit ; and some building their pretensions on their families being of the number of the first royalist settlers ; others measuring their respectability by the length of their purses. All

this, however, is common in larger towns than St John's; and the same ease and freedom of manners which have gained the ascendant at Halifax, will likely, as the population increases, and a greater intercourse with the world takes place, distinguish this city. When we also consider the few years which form the age of St John's, we must make the most charitable allowance for any defect in the condition of its society. Sir Howard Douglas has done wonders in the way of knitting society together, and the influence of his own family example has been of great benefit.

Assemblies are common during winter, once a-month, or oftener. They excite, as elsewhere in America, from the necessity of forming some fixed line of demarcation as to admission, the angry bile of those who are excluded. Carriolling, pic-nic, and private parties, are also common; and there are races annually near the town.

Fifty years ago, the site of this thriving city was covered with trees, and only a few straggling huts existed within its harbour. This was its condition at the peace of 1783; and when we now view it, with its population of above 12,000, its stately houses, its public buildings, its warehouses, its wharfs, and with the majestic ships which crowd its port, we are more than lost in forming even a conjecture of what it will become in less than a century. Its position will ever command the trade of the vast and fertile country watered by the lakes and streams of the River St John. All towns through which the bulk

of the imports and exports of the country in which these towns are situated necessarily pass have, in consequence, flourished.

We view this in the long and continued prosperity of Hamburgh, the boundless commerce of Liverpool, and the amazing prosperity of New York.

The River St John, called by the Indians Looshtook, or the long river, is, next to the St Lawrence, the finest river in British America. About a mile above the city of St John, at rugged narrows, the river is interrupted by huge rocks, over and among which the waters of this great river, and its tributary streams, roll and foam, and render the navigation, except for four short diurnal periods, impracticable. The great rise of tide at St John's, however, so far overflows these falls or rapids, that, when the flood rises twelve feet at the fort, sloops and schooners pass in safety for about twenty minutes, and for the same time when the tide ebbs to twelve feet.

This cataract, viewed from the high ground on the Carleton side, forms, with the adjoining scenery, a picturesque and, indeed, romantic picture. The foam is frequently carried down in frothy bodies past St John's ; and the agitated waters, holding the juices of mossy deposits from the interior in solution, and running to the sea, impart to it, in the spring, at St John's, and for some miles out at the Bay of Fundy, a dark-brown colour.

A chain-bridge, at the cost probably of not more than L.10,000, might be suspended across the River St John at the Falls, where the breadth is not more

than four hundred feet, and the precipices on each side sufficiently high ; there are also more than one rock in the centre, on which abutments might be built ; but these would not, I think, be found necessary.

The prairie, lying between the town and the height of land that separates the former from the present channel of the river, is considered by the speculative as the ancient bed of the River St John. I admit this conjecture to be quite within the bounds of probability ; but, on examining the features of both places, I could observe no reasonable ground to conclude that any other than the one over which this great river now rolls, was at any former period its channel.

Above the Falls, the river widens, and forms a bay of some magnitude, surrounded by high and rugged woodlands. At the lower part of this bay, there is a small village called Indian Town, about a mile and a half, by a good road, from St John's. From this village the steam-boat for Fredericton starts. Passing up the bay, we are struck with the extraordinary wildness and desolation of the country, although within a few miles of the city of St John. Huge calcareous rocks, bursting through stern dark fir-forests, stretching up the sides of lofty hills and promontories, which frown over the dark waters, impart a most savage and menacing character to the scenery. A miserable hovel, in a mere speck of cleared land, occasionally opens to view ; and those who inhabit these huts derive little more benefit

from the soil, than the lime which the rocks afford, and the fuel which the forest supplies, for both of which they find a market at St John's.

Proceeding up the river, and entering Grand Bay, scenery of much the same character prevails. From this extensive bay, Kennebecacis Bay and River bends off to the eastward for nearly forty miles; twenty of which are navigable for large vessels. The shores of the Kennebecacis are generally abrupt and rocky; but, near the head, we arrive at a beautiful tract of country, called Sussex Vale, populously settled, and allowed to be one of the most fertile districts of the province. Leading roads, but not in very good condition, lead through it from St John's to the River Petit Coudiac, and to the settlements on the River St John. The banks of the Kennebecacis abound in limestone, gypsum, coal, and salt springs. The inhabitants manufacture great quantities of maple sugar.

Fatal accidents frequently happen to the raftsmen in passing down Grand Bay; and few years occur without some of them being drowned. A small arm, named South Bay, branches off to the south; and, as we proceed up the river, the country begins to assume less forbidding features. On the left, we pass a beautiful and picturesque spot, called Alwington Manor,* near which, on receiving the Neripis from

* Alwington Manor once belonged to General Coffin. He cleared and cultivated it; but I was told on passing it, that, like the American backwoodsmen, he had then removed several miles back into the forest, to subdue a fresh tract of the wilderness.

the west, the river bends rather abruptly, and forms a beautiful vista of eighteen miles, called the Long Reach; along which the cultivation of the soil appears to be attended to, but carrying firewood to St John's is said to occupy too much of the attention of the settlers. The lands are stony, but, when subjected to cultivation, very productive.

At the head of the Long Reach, the lands on each side the river, and the pretty islands which divide it into several streams, present beautiful and rich features. Belle Isle Bay, a fine sheet of water, receiving several rivers, branches off here, for upwards of twenty miles, to the eastward. The River St John then winds to the north, from the head of the Long Reach to Fredericton, receiving the waters of the Washedemoak and Grand Lake from the east, and the Oromucto from the west. No part of America can exhibit greater beauty, or more luxuriant fertility, than the lands on each side, and the islands that we pass, in this distance. I can only compare it to the St Lawrence, from Fort William Henry to Montreal; and those who have had the opportunity of observing both, will readily agree with me in considering the banks of the River St John to be naturally quite as beautiful and fertile as those of the St Lawrence.

The parishes of Maugerville and Sheffield, on the right; Gage Town and Oromucto, on the left; and Long Island, with its neat church, are truly imposing.

This part of the province, including the lands around the Grand Lake, and along the Washede-

moak,* must become a very populous and rich country. A great proportion of the soil is intervale or alluvial, and coal is found in great plenty, near the Grand Lake.

Fredericton, although yet but little more than a village, is the seat of government; and is situated on a pretty point of land formed by a bend in the river, nearly ninety miles above St John's, and in front of as richly wooded hills as ever eye beheld; for soft picturesque scenery it is not surpassed by any part of the province. In front, the River St John, something more than half a mile in width, flows past, sometimes smoothly, but often in rapid overflowing grandeur; and immediately opposite, it receives the Nashwaak, a rapid stream, which winds from the west thirty miles through fertile lands, settlements, and forests. The magnificent view from the College, lately built on the brow of a hill above the town, embraces, during summer and autumn, much of what poets and romance-writers tell us about Fairyland. Before us we have the neat white buildings of the town, with their pretty gardens, and the verdant foliage of their trees; then the River St John, with the *débouché* of the Nashwaak, and an extensively ascending forest country, stretching far to the north. Downwards, we have a commanding prospect of

* The folly of many of those who occupy some of the fine *cleared* farms in this part of the province, in neglecting their cultivation, has been attended by the usual consequence. Their farms are, I am informed, in most instances, heavily mortgaged.

several windings, for many miles, of the river; the banks and headlands of which are beautifully adorned with clumps of trees, interspersed among the cultivated uplands, or intermingled with the rich fringes of alluvial soil, which its waters have created. Upwards, our eyes and imagination feast on a splendid view of luxuriant islands, water, cultivated farms, farm-houses, blue distant hills, wooded to their summits; with the presence of human industry—herds of cattle on the farms and islands, one or more sloops on the river, timber-rafts, *bateaux*, and the white canoe of the savage—to lend animation to the whole.

The plan of the town is regular, the streets crossing at right angles, and in appearance much like Charlotte Town, in Prince Edward Island. The building-lots contain each a quantity of an acre, eighteen of which form a square. The public buildings are, a provincial hall—a mean-looking building, in which the courts are held, and in which the Legislative Assembly sit—a jail, and a building which answers the double purpose of a market and county court-house. There are also an Episcopal church, of very humble appearance, but standing in a sweet spot, near the river, and three chapels, one each for the Catholics, Presbyterians, and Baptists. The barracks are handsome and commodious.

The new stone building, erected for the residence of the governor, stands at the west end of the town, in a charming situation. It is rather a large house, the front and elevation striking, but not elegant; and to me the design appeared, in many respects, to out-

rage good taste, as well as the rules of architecture; while convenience and comfort as to interior arrangements have also been either disregarded, or not understood. The drawing-room, ball-room, and presence-chamber, are, however, magnificent.

The college is a spacious handsome stone building, and, in my opinion, exactly what it should be. Some consider it too large. For the present state of the province, it certainly is; but it will not be thought so, when twenty years more pass away.

The dwellings, however, are principally built of wood, and look clean and handsome.

The residence of the commissioner of crown lands, above the town in particular, attracts observation, from its pleasing and respectable appearance.

The inhabitants are principally loyalists, or their descendants. Society is limited, but respectable. The trade of Fredericton consists principally in selling British goods to the settlers along the River St John and its streams, and receiving in return timber and agricultural produce. The town being at the head of the sloop-navigation, must increase and prosper in the same ratio as the settlement and prosperity of the vast interior country will necessarily advance. Many people consider that the capital should be at Oromucto, twelve miles below, and above which the river is much shoaler; others consider it should be still higher up. My own opinion is, that Governor Carleton, who founded it in 1785, could not have been more judicious in selecting any other spot. It has three or four religious institu-

tions, an agricultural and emigrant society, printing establishment, a weekly paper, a public library, an academy, &c.

Proceeding up the River St John for nine miles to where it receives the Madame Keswick, we pass several beautiful alluvial and cultivated islands, and the banks of the river are lined with farms, under fair tillage. The tide is not perceived to rise above this place; and at Fredericton it only rises from six to ten inches. We may still, however, ascend the river in *bateaux*, or tow-boats, encountering, it is true, many rapids, for one hundred and thirty miles. In this distance, the St John winds through a fertile wooded country, and receives several rivers, the principal of which are the Maduxnikik, Tobique, Restook, and Salmon rivers. The Tobique, famous for its red pines, is, following its windings, two hundred miles in length. The Indians have a chapel here.

The Restook has been explored for about a hundred miles, and it is tolerably well settled along its banks. The principal places on the St John, are Woodstock and Northampton, sixty-three miles above Fredericton, and on opposite sides of the river, where many beautiful islands are also situated. The banks of the St John have, above Fredericton, besides these places, on each side farms and settlements; but very thinly scattered, when compared to the St Lawrence. In the rear of Woodstock the Americans have established themselves, and formed an extensive settlement, which they have named Houlton Plantation.

ensemble of tremendous rocks, gigantic woods, and a continuity of cataracts and broken waters, below the Grand Falls of St John, which impart much greater variety to the magnificent scene, than the otherwise unparalleled Niagara can boast of.

Proceeding up the River St John, from the cove above the falls, its waters become smooth, deep, and sluggish. The boats and *pirogues* of the Acadians, and occasionally the white bark canoe of the Indian, appear now and then on its surface, while we pass for some miles along the wilderness but fertile lands through which it flows, until we arrive at the straggling settlement of Acadian French at Madawska. This is comprehended within the vast rich country claimed by the Americans, which if we be so supine as to relinquish, farewell to firmness in the councils of Great Britain.

The Acadians of Madawaska are even more simple in their manners, and much more limited in the extent of their intelligence, than those I have described in a former book. This arises from their situation: living since their childhood along the banks of an unfrequented river, which flows through an almost boundless forest, they have had no intercourse with the rest of the world, unless it were once a-year to Fredericton, to sell their surplus grain. They are descendants of the original French settlers in Nova Scotia, who retreated here to avoid the English. A few families from Canada also joined them; and since that period they have remained a quiet, loyal people, confined to their own means of procuring subsistence,

and to their own resources alone for social enjoyments. They have a chapel, and a priest from Canada officiates among them; they live by agriculture, but they are slovenly farmers, and regardless of cleanliness or comfort in their houses. Their wants are, however, so few that little serves them; and as their wives make, of the wool of their sheep, and the flax they raise, all the clothes they require; and being ignorant of the luxuries of the world, and what we are accustomed to call comforts, they are, therefore, independent of them, and live among themselves happy, and comparatively free of the cares which accompany the refinements of civilisation. They are hospitable to strangers, chaste, strongly attached to hereditary customs, strict in their religious observances, and very superstitious.

Some miles above the Acadian settlements, the St John receives the waters of the Madawaska, which previously winds through the forest, about thirty miles after issuing from the Lake Tamisquata. This lake, which is about twenty-eight miles long, and in some places several miles across, and in many parts deep, receives numerous streams, several of which issue from smaller lakes. The country surrounding these waters appears to be very fertile; the mountainous ridge of the Alleghany chain lies between them and the River St Lawrence; and across which, by this route, the courier with the mail for Canada travels by way of Kamouraska to Quebec.

Leaving the Madawaska, the River St John winds to the westward, branching over an extensive coun-

try into numerous streams, some of which approach within a mile or two of those falling into the St Lawrence. It issues from some small lakes near the source of the River Penobscot; and, with its tributaries, waters the disputed territory.

CHAPTER III.

Coast of the Bay of Fundy—Passamaquoddy Bay, and Islands—Grand Manan—Campobello—Deer Island—American Frontier—Eastport and Robinstown—Town of St Andrew—St Stephen's—Rivers St Croix and Schoodie—Digdaquash—Magaquadavic—L'Etang—Le Preaux—Musquash—Quaco—Chepody—Petit Coudiac—Memramcook—Westmoreland—Great Roads—Interior Settlements, &c.

THE Bay of Passamaquoddy separates the sea-coast of New Brunswick from that of the state of Maine. This magnificent and beautiful inlet is studded with numerous islands, some of which are richly wooded, and afford soil of fair quality, and most of them have convenient advantages for fishing.

Grand Manan, which lies at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, is about thirty-five miles from Brier Island, on the coast of Nova Scotia, and from eight to nine miles from the shores of Maine. Its length is about fourteen miles, and its breadth six or seven. It is chiefly covered with trees, growing on a soil of tolerable fertility, 4000 to 5000 acres of which are under fair cultivation. The population is about 700 or 800, and consists principally of families, whose parents or themselves removed from the United States, and whose habits and manners resemble very much those of the inhabitants of the neighbouring state of Maine.

They have often been considered as particularly

au fait at scheming and overreaching; but I think the reputation of the multitude has been too severely charged with all the villainy of some daring adventurers. The situation of the island certainly offers all that could be desired, either for a school or a rendezvous for smugglers; and the late American tariff offers temptations to evade revenue laws, and to despise the vigilance of revenue cruisers, of which they take the full benefit. It forms a parish, and has an Episcopal church.

Ship-building, fishing, and agriculture, as well as interchanging commodities, either by open or illicit means, are each followed by the inhabitants, in their turn. The dangerous ledges and rocks that abound round Grand Manan, particularly on the south and south-east; its perpendicular rocky cliffs, in some places 600 feet high; its position, at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, with the violence of the tides, and the fogs which prevail, when the winds blow from the Atlantic, render this island at all seasons the dread of mariners. A lighthouse, as projected by the late Mr Lockwood, surveyor-general of the province, on Gannet Rock, and an efficient light on Brier Island, in place of the beggarly one now on it, are objects that should seriously engage the consideration of the respective legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.* On Quoddy-head, the Americans have a

* On my passage to New Brunswick, in 1828, we approached the Bay of Fundy, on a remarkably fine evening in September. At sunset, we saw the high lands of Mount Desert to the west. The wind was fair, yet the master, an experienced and very able sea-

good lighthouse, which renders the pasage between it and Grand Manan comparatively safe.

Campobello Island, which is about ten miles long, lies within the Bay of Passamaquoddy; and a narrow deep channel separates it from Maine, in the United States. Its harbour is safe, and conveniently situated, and by many considered far superior to St Andrew's for a free port, more particularly for transshipping gypsum, or plaster of Paris, from British to American vessels. No place can possibly be better calculated for smuggling; and many of the inhabitants here, and on the opposite coast, may be considered sufficiently vigilant and daring in carrying on a successful illicit trade, to rival even the far-famed "Dirk Hatteraick."

There are many other islands within this bay, of which Deer Island is the largest.

In no part of America, north of New York, can vessels, during the severity of winter, proceed without being obstructed by ice, so far from the ocean, as up Passamaquoddy Bay and the River St Croix. This is important, particularly to vessels which load with timber during winter for the West Indies.

On a point of low land at the mouth of the St

man, seemed unusually anxious and watchful in shaping his course, so as to be at a safe distance from the ledges of Manan, and those of Brier Island. The tide, however, baffled all his attention and reckoning; and when we thought we had passed both, we were suddenly alarmed by land appearing close *a-head*, and to leeward of us, which proved to be the coast of Nova Scotia, between Cape St Mary's and Cape Forchu; and on sounding, we found ourselves passing over a ledge in three fathoms water. Had it been foggy, we should soon have been on the rocks.

Croix, and in front of a hilly ridge, stands the town of St Andrew. Its houses are respectable in size and appearance; and it has two principal streets, which are crossed by several others; a population of about three thousand; an Episcopal church; and a handsome Scotch kirk, built at the expense of a resident merchant, Mr Scott, and gratuitously presented by him to the members of the Church of Scotland. It has also its government school, court-house, jail, printing establishment, weekly newspaper, commercial bank, savings' bank, emigrant and agricultural society, Bible society, &c.

The site of the town is pretty, and the prospect from it, embracing the spacious Bay of Passamaquoddy, and a distant view of the islands, the coast of Maine, and the lands to the eastward, is truly grand and picturesque; yet, in more than one respect, objections to its situation are very apparent. The harbour is by no means a good one for large vessels, which can only enter it at full tide, while they have to lie aground within it, nearly twelve hours out of the twenty-four, and a bar and ledge render its entrance dangerous to strangers. The principal article of export, lumber, has also to be rafted at great expense to it down from the Rivers St Croix and Schoodic, and from Magaquadavic. It is, however, a thriving place, and carries forward a brisk trade in exporting square timber, deals, and staves. Ship-building has also been a source of adventurous rather than profitable enterprise, in which the inhabitants of St

Andrew's and its neighbourhood, have for some time been extensively engaged.

Proceeding twelve miles further up the St Croix, near that part of the river called the ledge, its navigation for large vessels is interrupted ; but here they can load near St Stephen's in safety, and this is, in many respects, the very place where the principal town on the river should be built.

A few miles above St Stephen's, the St Croix divides into two main branches ; that leading to the westward, called the River Schoodic, penetrates the state of Maine, and receives the waters of an extensive chain of lakes. The other, or the St Croix, stretching far to the north and north-west, receives also the waters of several streams and lakes ; and flows through a fertile country covered with lofty forests, but its navigation is often interrupted by rapids and cataracts. There are numerous saw-mills on these rivers, and the annual average quantity of lumber sawed by the whole is estimated at twenty-two millions of feet. On the Digdaquash, a few miles east of St Andrew's, there are also several saw-mills.

The river Magaquadavic, or, as it is usually pronounced, Macadavick, falls into the bay about ten miles east of St Andrew's, and carries down the waters it receives from numerous streams and lakes, along a course of more than sixty miles through the province. Its resources are great, having extensive fertile lands, and excellent timber on its banks. Its navigation is, however, interrupted near its mouth by high falls ; and numerous cataracts and rapids

occur in its course, but still a vast quantity of timber is rafted down to the harbour.

From St John's Harbour, along the coast, up the Bay of Fundy, a distance of about eighty miles, to Shepody Bay, small settlements are scattered. The principal of these is Quaco.

The lands near the sea-coast, along this extensive distance, are remarkably stubborn, and difficult to cultivate, but not unfruitful in producing barley, oats, potatoes, &c. The ripening of wheat crops cannot be depended on. The shores of Shepody Bay, which receive the Rivers Petit Coudiac and Memramcook, are thickly settled. The Petit Coudiac is a rapid river; and, following its winding course, is about seventy miles long, and up which the tide flows forty miles. It has excellent marshes, and remarkably fine lands, well wooded along its banks, which are in many places, particularly at the beautiful settlement of Dorchester, thickly inhabited. Ships occasionally proceed as far up as Dorchester for timber; but the impetuous tides of the Bay of Fundy render the navigation difficult. The river Memramcook has fine extensive diked marshes, and is settled by Acadian French. Large clearings abound along the river, and many farmers, living a great way up, follow agriculture alone; but most of the inhabitants have devoted their time occasionally to the timber business.

In that part of the province comprehended within the county of Charlotte, the spirit of agriculture appears lately to have acquired fresh animation; and

the cultivation of the soil is followed with greater attention than before the eventful commercial crisis of the year 1826.

There are several other settlements along the coast, between Passamaquoddy and St John's, among which L'Etang, Beaver Harbour, Le Preaux, and Musquash are the principal, and at each of which shipbuilding, hewing timber, fishing, and a little agriculture, have alternately been followed by the inhabitants.

The country bordering on Shepody Bay, Cumberland Basin, and the rivers which fall into them, and which are included in the county of Westmoreland, is equal in respect to population, soil, and cultivation, to any part of the province. It was formerly comprehended in the county of Cumberland, as belonging to Nova Scotia, which it adjoins. The inhabitants are principally farmers and graziers; among whom are several settlements of industrious Acadian French. The most thriving settlers, however, are Englishmen from Yorkshire, or their descendants, who rear large herds of cattle, and raise luxuriant crops of grain and hay on their fine diked marshes. They export their overplus butter and cheese, and drive their fat cattle to the markets of Halifax, St John, and Miramichi. Great quantities of grindstones are sent from the county of Westmoreland, most of which find their way to the United States.

Along the principal roads of this province settlements are gradually forming; accordingly, while travelling along, we pass by farms and houses in all

the various gradations of improvement, from the miserable rude hut, and the first few trees felled in the forest, to the handsome clap-boarded, shingled, and painted house, and large barn, amidst several acres of land cleared of the stumps, and under grass, grain, and potatoes.

The roads in New Brunswick were, with scarcely ten miles in one place of an exception, worse than the generality of those I have travelled over in any of the other colonies, always leaving Newfoundland, which can only boast of one short road, out of the question.

The road from Fort Cumberland, through Westmoreland, and along the River Petit Coudiac, and thence through Sussex Vale, and across Hammond river to St John's, is the best I know of, and the bridges it crosses are tolerable.

The road from St John's to St Andrew's is truly bad and dangerous. The road opened from Carleton, opposite St John's, by the way of the River Nerepis, to Fredericton, is particularly bad from the Nerepis to Oromucto; and from Fredericton to the Canada line there is only about 65 miles on which we can attempt to drive any sort of carriage. The distance from St John's by this route, which follows the river to the falls of Madawaska, and from thence across the high lands to the St Lawrence below Kamouraska, is 347 miles, from which, by an excellent road along the banks of the St Lawrence, the distance to Quebec is 107 miles.

The road from opposite Fredericton, along the Nashwaak, and thence to Miramichi, is also very

bad ; as is also the road from Fredericton to St Andrews. There is a pretty good road from the Petit Coudiac to Chediac, on the gulf coast, by which hay is frequently hauled to the latter place. The road from Chediac to Miramichi is, particularly from Richibucto to the last place, abominable. Several paths, which are misnamed roads, have also been opened between the various settlements.

The Legislative Assembly have certainly at different times appropriated large sums in aid of the statute labour, for the purpose of opening and improving the roads of the province. But, somehow or other, road-making was, until lately, either not understood, or the labour and money must have been misapplied, as good leading roads were, at least three years ago, an essential *desideratum* in New Brunswick. The expense of making a good road through a forest will be about L.100 per mile.

An object of paramount importance and convenience to the lower and upper colonies, would be to open a good carriage road from Nova Scotia to Fredericton, and thence to the River St Lawrence. It should be made at the joint expense of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, as all would derive equal advantage from accomplishing an undertaking that would open a direct line through all the British colonies.

Another line of road, and certainly a most desirable one, was pointed out by Governor Sir Howard Douglas, as a great military road from Halifax to Quebec. This line would be a continuation of the road from

Halifax to the bend of the River Petit Coudiac, thence to the gulf coast, to the River Miramichi, and thence, by the way of the River Ristigouche, to the St Lawrence at Metis, about 200 miles below Quebec.

The benefits of such roads would be great. The colonies would be connected so much closer in their interests by greater facility of communication; the military forces could easily and speedily move wherever required; the crown lands would be disposed of at a much better price; and, by throwing open the rich lands of the interior, they would be settled upon rapidly.*

Several small settlements along the roads in New Brunswick appear to be in a flourishing condition. Disbanded soldiers, however, do not generally make good settlers, unless placed under proper officers or superintendents. On the woodlands, along the road from the Nashwaak to Miramichi, I observed several untenanted huts, which were occupied by disbanded soldiers, who had the lands granted them, but who deserted their habitations as soon as they expended the rations they received from government.

While travelling over this province we cannot help being amused at the names given to many places in the colonies by the whim of the first settlers. It is natural for people to cherish associations connected with their birthplace, and we are not surprised, on arriving at a fine thriving settlement, inhabited by Welshmen, who planted themselves amidst the forest

* Note B.

about fifteen miles from Fredericton, that it is named Cardigan ; nor that an equally thriving settlement of industrious Irish, on the shores of the Bay Chaleur, is called New Bandon ; but we can hardly repress a smile on hearing places through or by which we pass, called Canaan, Mount Pisgah, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

Coast of New Brunswick within the Gulf Shore—Miramichi River and Settlements—Chatham, Newcastle, &c.—Occupations of the Inhabitants —Timber Trade—Cultivation of the Soil—Salmon Fishery—Tremendous Fire of 1825—Effects on the Soil—Harbours on the Gulf Coast, &c.

Miramichi* River enters the province of New Brunswick in latitude 47° 10 N., and in longitude 64° 40′ West. It is navigable for large ships for about forty miles. There is a sand bar across off the entrance, but the channel over it is broad, with water for ships of from six hundred to seven hundred tons; and vessels entering the river seldom meet with any accident. The land near the sea, like the whole of the north-east coast of New Brunswick, is low, and clothed near the shore with dwarf spruce and birch-trees; beyond which, the whole country is covered with heavy timber. This magnificent river divides into two great branches, and these again into numerous streams.

The importance attached to Miramichi has arisen within the last twenty-five years, in consequence of

* Miramichi is not the Indian name, as generally supposed, but probably a corruption of Miracheet, the name of a tribe of Micmacs that once occupied its banks. The Indian name is *Lis-tee-gooi deetch*, and its north-west branch is called by the Indians *Atlee-ma-nagan*.

the vast quantities of pine timber exported from thence.

It was scarcely known thirty years ago, except to a few adventurers, who traded with the Indians for furs; and those who first settled on the banks of the river, were attracted thither by its plentiful salmon-fishery, which formed for some years a profitable source of enterprise. The exportation of timber has since then superseded almost every other pursuit; and the waters of the river being much disturbed by vessels, boats, and rafts of timber, a decrease in quantity has followed in the salmon-fishery; but whether in consequence of this circumstance, as the inhabitants always assert, or from some unknown natural cause, must, I think, be difficult to determine. The salmon-fishery on the river still affords more than is required for the use of the settlers and lumbering parties.

On the south side of Miramichi, a little within its entrance, lies Bay des Vents, where ships occasionally load, and where there is safe and sheltered anchorage; on the north, is the bay and settlement of Negowack, where ships also load, but where there is not much shelter.*

Houses are seen thinly scattered along each side as we sail up the river; but little cultivation appears. About twenty miles up, on the south side, stands the town or village of Chatham, where many of the timber ships load, and where several of the merchants

* Note C.

are settled, who have erected stores and wharfs. Some of the latter, particularly the fine stone warehouse, stores, wharfs, and timber booms, belonging to the very extensive establishment of Messrs J. Cunard and Co., are on a most respectable scale. About four miles further up, the houses of Nelson village, with one or two wharfs, rise along the banks of the river; and here also a few vessels occasionally load with timber. On the opposite side, the village of Douglas, and the extensive mercantile establishment of Messrs Gilmour and Rankin, where several ships load, appear rising along the shore.

Four miles further up than Chatham, and on the north side of the river, stands the village or town of Newcastle, with its wharfs and stores. It is considered the shire town for the county of Northumberland. Its public buildings, and most of the dwelling-houses and stores, were consumed by the fire of 1825, which reduced almost every thing else it contained to ashes; even in the churchyard I observed, three years afterwards, marks of that terrible conflagration. A new church, court-house, jail, and many private buildings, have been since built.

It is much to be regretted that the houses, stores, and wharfs, which are now scattered in four different places, each claiming the designation of a town, were not all built in one convenient place, where together they would now form a town of some consequence in extent; and where the operations of commerce would be carried forward with much greater convenience.

A little above Newcastle, and a short distance

below the confluence of the two great arms of the river, lies Frazer's Island, where there are stores, and a ship-building establishment.

On the banks of this river and its great branches, there is yet but a thinly scattered population, who employ themselves chiefly in hewing timber during winter in the woods, and in rafting it down the river in summer to where the ships load.

Fertile tracts of intervale, and excellent uplands, abound along its banks and in the extensive upper country, watered by its numerous streams, which are capable of most profitable cultivation; but the lumberers, who compose probably more than half the population, are neither from habit nor inclination likely to become constant or skilful farmers; which accounts for the cultivation of the soil having been so long neglected.

The depression, however, in the value of timber, which took place in 1826, and the poverty and distress occasioned by the fire the preceding year, drove the actual settlers to the cultivation of the soil for the means of subsistence; and since that time they have devoted their attention nearly with as much industry to agriculture as to the timber business.*

* On coming down the south-west branch, in the autumn of 1828, from where the road from the River St John joins the Miramichi, about eighty miles above Chatham, I was astonished at the unexpected progress made during so short a period in the cultivation of the soil.

Near where the foregoing road parts off for Fredericton, an American, possessing a full share of the adventurous activity of the citizens of the United States, has established himself. He told me,

In October 1825, about a hundred and forty miles in extent, and a vast breadth of the country on the

that when he planted himself there, seven years before, he was not worth a shilling. He has now (1829) more than three hundred acres under cultivation; an immense flock of sheep, horses, several yokes of oxen, milch cows, swine, and poultry. He has a large dwelling-house, conveniently furnished, in which he lives with his family, and a numerous train of labourers, one or two other houses, a forge, with a powerful trip-hammer worked by water power, fullingmill, grist-mill, and two saw-mills—all turned by water. Near these, he showed me a building, which he said he erected for the double purpose of a school and chapel, the floor of which was laid, and on which benches were arranged, so as to resemble the pit of one of our theatres. He said that all preachers who came in the way were welcome to the use of it. An English parson, a Catholic priest, a Presbyterian minister, or a methodist preacher, should each, he said, get something to eat at his house, and have the use of the chapel, with equal satisfaction to him.

He then showed me his barn, and in one place a heap, containing about ninety bushels of Indian corn, that grew on a spot scarcely an acre, which he pointed out to me. This man could little more than read and write,—his manners were quite unpolished, but not rude, yet he had wonderful readiness of address, and as far as related to his own pursuits, quick powers of invention and application. He raised large crops, ground his own corn, manufactured the flax he cultivated, and the wool of his sheep, into coarse clothes; sold the provisions which his farm produced, and rum and British goods, to the lumberers, kept a tavern, employed lumberers in the woods, and received also timber in payment for whatever he sold. He made the axes and other tools, required by the lumberers, at his forge. He ate, gambled, and associated with his own labourers and with the lumberers, and all others, who made his house a kind of rallying point. He appeared, however, to be a sober man, and a person who had in view an object of gain in every thing he engaged in.

He talked much in praise of the rich interior country, and how rapidly it would be settled and cultivated if possessed by the

north, and from sixty to seventy miles on the south side of Miramichi River, became a scene of perhaps the most dreadful conflagration that occurs in the history of the world.

In Europe we can scarcely form a conception of the fury and rapidity with which fires rage through the forests of America during a dry hot season, at which period the broken underwood, decayed vegetable substances, fallen branches, bark, and withered trees, are as inflammable as the absence of moisture can render them. To such irresistible food for combustion, we must add the auxiliary afforded by the boundless fir forests, every tree of which contains, in its trunk, bark, branches and leaves, vast quantities of the most inflammable resins.

When one of these fires is once in motion, or at least when the flames extend over a few miles of the forest, the surrounding air becomes highly rarified; and the wind consequently increases till it blows a perfect hurricane. It appears that the woods had been, on both sides of the north-west, partially on fire for some days, but not to an alarming extent until the 7th of October, when it came on to blow furi-

Americans. He complained of the alien act, as he was born a citizen of the United States, and consequently held his lands only by sufferance, as he did not find his conscience (I doubt if that monitor troubled him much on this subject) would allow him to take the usual oaths, or, as he added, to receive the sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England. I have noticed the condition of this man merely as being strictly characteristic of thousands of Americans who settle on wilderness lands.

ously from the westward ; and the inhabitants along the banks of the river were suddenly surprised by an extraordinary roaring in the woods, resembling the crashing and detonation of loud and incessant thunder ; while at the same instant the atmosphere became thickly darkened with smoke. They had scarcely time to ascertain the cause of this awful phenomenon, before all the surrounding woods appeared in one vast blaze ; the flames ascending from one to two hundred feet above the tops of the loftiest trees, and the fire, rolling forward with inconceivable celerity, presented the terribly sublime appearance of an impetuous flaming ocean. In less than an hour, Douglas Town and Newcastle were in a blaze, and many of the wretched inhabitants, unable to escape, perished in the flames. The following account was obtained and printed in the papers for public information a few days afterwards :—

" More than a hundred miles of the shores of Miramichi are laid waste, independent of the north-west branch, the Baltibog and the Nappan settlements. From one to two hundred people have perished within immediate observation, while thrice that number are miserably burnt, or otherwise wounded ; and at least two thousand of our fellow-creatures are left destitute of the means of subsistence, and thrown at present upon the humanity of the Province of New Brunswick.

" The number of lives that have been lost in the remote parts of the woods, among the lumbering

parties, cannot be ascertained for some time to come ; for it is feared that few are left to tell the tale.

" It is not in the power of language to describe the unparalleled scene of ruin and devastation which the parish of Newcastle at this moment presents. Out of upwards of two hundred and fifty houses and stores, fourteen of the least considerable only remain. The court-house, jail, church, and barracks ; Messrs Gilmour, Rankin, and Co.'s, and Messrs Abrams and Co.'s establishments, with two ships on the stocks, are reduced to ashes.

" The loss of property is incalculable ; for the fire, borne upon the wings of a hurricane, rushed on the wretched inhabitants with such inconceivable rapidity, that the preservation of their lives could be their only care.

" Among the vessels on the river, a number were cast on shore ; three of which, namely, the ships Concord of Whitby, and Canada of North Shields, together with the brig Jane of Alloa, were consumed ; others were fortunately extinguished, after the fire had attacked them.

" At Douglas Town, scarcely any kind of property escaped the ravages of the fire, which swept off the surface every thing coming in contact with it, leaving but time for the unfortunate inhabitants to fly to the shore ; and there, by means of boats, canoes, rafts of timber, timber logs, or any article, however ill calculated for the purpose, they endeavoured to escape from the dreadful scene, and reach the town

of Chatham: numbers of men, women, and children, perishing in the attempt.

" In some parts of the country, the cattle have all been destroyed, or suffered greatly, and the very soil is in many places parched and burnt up, while scarcely any article of provisions has been rescued from the flames.

" The hurricane raged with such dreadful violence, that large bodies of timber, on fire, as also trees from the forest, and parts of the flaming houses and stores, were carried to the rivers with amazing velocity, to such an extent, and affecting the water in such a manner, as to occasion large quantities of salmon and other fish to resort to land; hundreds of which were scattered on the shores of the south and west branches.

" Chatham at present contains about three hundred of the unfortunate sufferers, who have resorted to it for relief, and are experiencing some partial assistance; and almost every hour brings with it great numbers from the back settlements, burnt, wounded, and in the most abject state of distress."

Great fires raged about the same time in the forests of the River St John, which destroyed much property and timber, with the governor's residence, and about eighty private houses at Fredericton. Fires raged also at the same time in the northern parts of the province, as far as the Bay de Chaleur.

It is impossible to tell how many lives were lost, as many of those who were in the woods among the lumbering parties had no friends or connexions in

the country to remark their non-appearance. Five hundred have been computed as the least number that actually perished in the flames.

The destruction of bears, foxes, tiger-cats, martens, hares, and other wild animals, was very great. These, when surprised by great fires, are said to lose their usual sense of preservation, and becoming, as it were, either giddy or fascinated, often rush into the face of inevitable destruction. Even the birds, except those of very strong wing, seldom escape ; some, particularly the partridge, become stupified ; and the density of the smoke, the rapid velocity of the flames, and the violence of the winds, effectually prevent the flight of most others.

If the benevolence and charity of mankind were ever manifested in a more than common degree of feeling for the sufferings of unfortunate people, it was assuredly on this memorable occasion. No sooner did accounts of the calamity arrive in the neighbouring colonies, than clothing and provisions were collected and sent, with the utmost expedition, to ameliorate the distress of the sufferers ; and the governor, Sir Howard Douglas, crossed the country, without any delay, to ascertain personally the extent of the calamity. Subscriptions, for the relief of all those who were subjected to want, were raised, to an amount hitherto unexampled, in Great Britain, in the United States, and in all the British Colonies ; and the funds placed for distribution under the management of Sir Howard, and a committee appointed for the purpose in the province. L.200, which remained

in the hands of the committee at Liverpool, was afterwards appropriated in aid of a school at the scene of the calamity.

Miramichi may now be said to have completely surmounted the misery and loss occasioned by the ravages of so terrible a visitation. Newcastle has not only arisen from its ashes, but will likely, in a few years, contain as many and much better houses, and as great a population, as formerly. The country laid waste by the insatiate element, is of much less value, it is true, when compared with its former worth. The majestic timber trees, which acquired their gigantic size by many ages of growth, have been destroyed, and a smaller species, originally common to sterile soils, and scarcely ever fit for the timber of commerce, have sprung up in their room.

I have often heard it maintained in England, by people unacquainted with America, that the lands must become much more valuable by being cleared of the woods by fire, as immense labour and expense in clearing the forest-lands would consequently be saved. No opinion can be more erroneous. Settlers, who understand the value of wilderness lands, always choose those covered with the heaviest trees of promiscuous kinds; and the strongest objection that can be made to a plot of land is, its having been previously subjected to fire, which withers the remaining standing trees, and leads to the exhaustion of fertility in the soil, by its producing afterwards two or three tall crops of weeds, which require as much nourishment as the same number of corn crops

would. From the nature of those plants, very little of the sustenance drawn by them from the ground is again returned to it, as they wither, standing, into dry hollow stalks; and their juices, escaping gradually by exhalation, and mixing with the surrounding atmosphere, are carried off by the winds.

If the *burnt lands*, as they are termed, were, immediately after being overrun by fire, brought under cultivation, they would then be of exactly the same value as those cleared in the usual way; but even in this case they are objected to, as the great fires scour over the surface with such rapidity, that the trunks of the large trees are only very partially destroyed, and scarcely ever levelled, while, by losing their sap, they soon become much harder, and more difficult to cut, than green wood, and, by being all charred on the outside, exceedingly disagreeable to work among. The clearing and cultivating of ground on which the trees are all in a fresh growing state, is therefore preferred to that which has been subjected to fire, which seldom consumes effectually more than the underwood, decayed fragments, and the branches of the large trees.

The great business of Miramichi is the timber trade. Scarcely any other branch of trade is attempted; yet vast quantities of fish might be brought in from the Gulf of St Lawrence, which, with the salmon caught in the river, would form portions of assorted cargoes with lumber for the West Indies. This business has lately been partially prosecuted. In 1824, 141,384 tons of square timber were exported from

Miramichi to ports in the United Kingdom, in nearly three hundred ships; and, although a depression occurred in 1826, the trade has since then been extensively followed.

The principal articles of provisions, and all others of general consumption, are imported, which will long continue as necessary to supply the wants of the settlers and lumberers. When the interior country, watered by the branches of this river, becomes tolerably well settled by farmers, the importation of provisions must, from want of demand, necessarily cease. The fixed property, in saw-mills on this river and its tributaries, is of important value.

To the southward of Miramichi, New Brunswick extends about seventy-five miles, along the strait of Northumberland, to Cape Tormentine. On this coast are the harbours of Richibuctu, Buctush, Cocaigne, Chediac, and the Harbour of Chemogui for small vessels. Several rivers also occur in this district. The soil is generally fertile, but the lands are very thinly inhabited, although many thousands of settlers might be *located* on the vacant lands lying between the sea and the Rivers St John and Petit Coudiac. The few roads opened as late as 1827, were then bad beyond the powers of description. Since then the energy of Sir Howard Douglas, with the cooperation of the legislature, have improved them greatly.

Richibuctu harbour has a bar across the entrance; but at high water ships drawing sixteen feet may pass safely over it. Within the last few years vast quantities of timber have been exported from

this place. Its river, dividing into several streams, flows through an extensive country. It is navigable for several miles, and many of the settlers are Acadian French. The timber business, hitherto, has been chiefly attended to, as affording the most ready means of living; but agriculture, long considered of minor importance, now also engages the attention of the settlers.

Buctush is also a bar-harbour, and a port from which timber is exported. Several families of Acadian French are settled at this place.

Cocaigne lies to the southward of Buctush. Its entrance is very intricate; but ships of three hundred tons may load within the bar. Several cargoes of timber have been exported from this place, and a few ships have also been built here. It receives a fine river, but the population is yet trifling.

Chediac is a small harbour, with a scanty population, who have divided their labour between hewing timber and a little farming.

Chemogui River has a shallow entrance; but the lands are under tolerable cultivation, and agriculture and rearing cattle occupy the principal attention of the inhabitants. Between Chemogui and Cape Tormentine, there are many extensive and well-cultivated farms. The soil resembles that of Prince Edward Island, immediately opposite; and here the distance across the strait is not quite ten miles.

From Miramichi, north to Point Miscou, at the entrance of the Bay de Chaleur, the distance is about seventy miles. The sea-coast, and back lands of this

part of the province, are very low ; and the shore is nearly altogether fringed with sandy ridges, or small islands, producing bent-grass. Within these are lagoons, with shallow entrances. To Tabi-san-tac and Tracadie, the principal of these places, several thousand tons of timber are annually hauled out of the woods, and rafted to Miramichi.

To the northward of Tracadie, and near the passage of Shippigan, which divides the island of that name from the continent, are the small and shallow harbours of Little and Great Poumouche, inhabited principally by a few families of Acadian French. The inhabitants along this coast are scattered thinly near the shores, and subsist by means of fishing, cultivating potatoes and a little grain, and hewing timber. They are poor, ignorant, and unambitious. Want of industry, or rather the improper application of their labour, alone prevents their prosperity ; and a few worthless characters, mingled with the Acadians, and who have probably been driven by their roguery from among the English and Scotch settlements, while they want the simplicity and honesty of their neighbours, are equally bad farmers, and less industrious as fishermen.

CHAPTER V.

BAY DE CHALEUR.

Miscou — Shippigan — St Peter's — Rustigouche — Bonaventure — Carlisle — Gaspè, &c. — Climate of the District of Gaspè — Whale-Fishery.

THIS bay, or rather gulf, and the River Rustigouche, which falls into it, divide Canada and New Brunswick, Cape Mackerel (Maquereau) on the Canadian side, and Point Miscou on the south, distant from each other fifteen miles, from the entrance to this bay.

Point Miscou is in latitude 47° 58′, and in longitude 64° 30′. The length of this magnificent gulf, from Point Miscou west to the mouth of the River Rustigouche, is about eighty-five miles. In one place it is twenty miles broad; in others, from fifteen to thirty miles. On the Canadian or north side, the land rises into lofty mountains; on the south side, except within twenty miles of the head of the bay, the interior country is low; although along the shores the cliffs are in some places perpendicular.

In 1534, the famous and intrepid French navigator, Jacques Cartier, sailed into this bay, previous to his discovering the St Lawrence. From the inten-

sity of the midsummer heat which he then experienced, he gave it the name of Bay de Chaleur.

Miscou Island is about ten miles round. Here the French, previous to the conquest of Canada, had an extensive fishing plantation, conducted by the "Company of Miscou." The remains of their buildings, &c., still appear. In 1819, when I was ashore on this island, there was living on it but one family, consisting of a disbanded Highland soldier, of the name of Campbell, his wife, son-in-law, and two daughters.* He settled on this spot, from a truly Highland attachment to flocks and herds; as it affords excellent pasturage in summer, and as it produces also plenty of hay for winter fodder. There is a safe and deep harbour formed between this island and the Island of Shippigan. The entrance to it, from the gulf, must not be attempted, as it will scarcely admit boats; but the other, from the bay, has water sufficiently deep for large ships. There is little wood on this island; the trees are dwarf birches and firs. Several varieties of wild fruit abound.

Shippigan is about twenty miles long low, and

* Three individuals of this family were, I have learned since, drowned; the boat in which they were attempting to cross over to Caraquette, having swamped on a reef about two miles from the land. One of these was the unmarried daughter. Her appearance was certainly interesting when I saw her; and I could not help thinking at the time, that it was a matter of regret that she should wear out life on an island thirty miles from any one but her own family. A black servant, that I had with me, told me, after we left, that she was anxious to escape from *her prison*, as she named it, and would gladly do so then, if she could. Two months after, the unfortunate girl was drowned.

sandy, and produces bent-grass, fir, and birch-trees, shrubs, and a great abundance of cranberries, blueberries, &c. I saw some foxes on it, and was told they were numerous. Wild-geese and ducks occasionally hatch their young on these islands; both are great resorts of wild fowls. The passage between it and the continent, being at the eastern entrance choked with sand, has only seven or eight feet depth of water. The channel leading from the Bay de Chaleur is deep and broad; but on each side of it, flat, rocky, and sandy shallows stretch two or three miles from the land. On this island, and on the mainland opposite, there are about eighty families of Acadian French, whose principal occupation is fishing. The soil is tolerably fertile, and produces wheat, potatoes, and oats; which, however, the inhabitants raise but in small quantities. A few cargoes of excellent timber have been exported from Shippigan, chiefly rafted from Poumouche, a few miles to the southward; and from which place, large rafts of timber have frequently been *poled* along the shore, sixty or seventy miles, and delivered at Miramichi.

Caraquette is situated a few miles west of Shippigan. There is an island at the entrance, which forms the harbour; on each side of this island there is a deep but intricate channel. A long, populous, but straggling village, extends several miles along the south side of Caraquette Bay; at the head of which stands the old Catholic chapel, in one of the most beautiful spots in the world—at least it is so during summer and autumn. On one side of it is a beautiful

transparent stream, issuing from between the crevices of a rock; on the other, before the skirts of a luxuriant forest of birch and maple, are a few acres of green sward, on which the villagers, during the interval between mass and vespers, delight, in fine weather, to repose in groups, to talk over the incidents of the week. In front of this spot a beautiful view opens of the harbour, Caraquette Island, and a broad prospect of the Bay de Chaleur.

In the middle of the village, and on pretty high ground, the new stone church stands. It is a large plain building, with a high spire, and one or two bells. The inside is lined with pictures of a showy but cheap description. The inhabitants, however, felt great reluctance in abandoning the old chapel, which, with every object surrounding it, had been for twenty or thirty years familiarized to them; and they were anxious, although the distance was very inconvenient, to build the new one on the same spot.

The soil about Caraquette is very fertile. I have seen as fine wheat growing there as in any part of America. The inhabitants of this place and Shippigan, particularly the women, show more of the features and colour of the Micmac Indians, than any of the Acadians that I have elsewhere seen. This circumstance arises from the first settlers, of whom they are descended, having intermarried with the savages. These people employ themselves principally in the cod and herring fisheries, and depend only as an auxiliary means of subsistence on the cultivation of the soil, which they leave, in a great measure,

to the management of the women and younger sons. There are some excellent grindstone quarries in this place. Red ochre, also, of excellent quality, abounds.

Between Caraquette and Nipisighit Bay, there are three or four small Acadian settlements, the inhabitants of which live by fishing.

On the east side of Nipisighit (or St Peter's) is situated the young, flourishing settlement of New Bandon ; the inhabitants of which went from Ireland a few years ago, and have, by confining their labour chiefly to agriculture, and by persevering industry and good management, succeeded in rising, from comparative poverty, to the acquisition of considerable property in land and cattle.

St Peter's, lately named Bathurst, is the harbour of Nipisighit Bay ; there is a bar across the entrance, but large brigs can load inside of it. The River Nipisighit winds and branches over a great extent of the northern part of New Brunswick. I have before observed, that it appears to be in a line of contact between a region of sandstone to the eastward, and a part of the vast granitic range of the Alleghanies. The main branch is broken by a magnificent fall and several rapids ; and I was informed that all the other branches rolled over falls and cataracts. The interior country is but little known ; but from the information given me by the lumbering parties and Indians, its configuration presents innumerable streams, lakes, excellent lands, forests, valleys, and hills which occasionally assume the character of mountains.

For some years several ships have loaded with

timber at Nipisighit, the quality of which is excellent. The number of settlers in this place is rather considerable; but a vast population might be located advantageously on the lands watered by this river. There are two or three merchants at St Peter's, and it is the port of entry, under St John's, for all the harbours on the south side of the Bay de Chaleur. The shore from Nipisighit to Rustigouche, is all lined with inhabitants.

The River Rustigouche, which separates Canada from New Brunswick, falls into a spacious harbour at the head of the Bay de Chaleur. This majestic river, and its numerous appendant streams, branch over more than six thousand square miles of New Brunswick and Canada. The largest stream running into it from the north, is the Matapedia, rising in a lake of that name, situated in the middle of the county of Cornwallis, in Lower Canada. From one of the southern streams of the Rustigouche, the distance to the River St John is but a few miles, and by this route the courier travels with letters to New Brunswick or Canada. A road, to open a direct communication between the settlements on the Bay de Chaleur and Canada, by the lake Matapedia, has been contemplated. It might form a continuation of the new road from Miramichi to Nipisighit, from which a tolerable road is open to Rustigouche, and then complete the great military road projected by Sir Howard Douglas, by leading along the Matapedia, and then by the Metis to the St Lawrence. Next to a good road from Fredericton to the St Lawrence, I consider a

road that would enable the inhabitants of the Bay de Chaleur, particularly those on the north side, to have a direct and certain intercourse with Quebec, an object of the greatest importance. To this neglected, and almost forgotten, but still truly valuable, part of Canada and New Brunswick, such a line of communication with Quebec is absolutely necessary. The opening of these roads would facilitate the settlement of vast tracts of fertile country through which the Rustigouche, Matapedia, and Nipisighit Rivers flow.

A profitable salmon-fishery was, for many years, followed on the River Rustigouche, which has for some time been declining. I have been told by those longest settled on the river, that an extraordinary annual decrease in the number of salmon frequenting it has taken place, which they account for as a consequence of its waters being much more disturbed than formerly.

The inhabitants at what may be considered the harbour of Rustigouche, and at Dalhousie on the New Brunswick side, where many of the timber ships load, and those at the settlements of Nouvelle, New Richmond, Tracadigash, and Cascapedia, consist of a mixed population of English, Scotch, Irish, Americans, and Acadian French, who employ themselves in the different occupations of fishing, hewing timber, and farming on a very humble scale.

Eighteen miles up the Rustigouche, there is an Indian chapel, and here they occasionally form a small village of wigwams ; which, after a few weeks, they soon displace, and, packing up these portable habita-

tions, with all their stock, embark with them in their canoes for some other part of the country.

The land, on each side the river Rustigouche, is high and mountainous. In some places the river appears to have actually broken through ramifications of the great chain between it and the St Lawrence. In the valleys, and along the river where intervale lands abound, the soil is capable of producing luxuriant crops of grain, and all sorts of green crops. A vast population might be settled on these parts of New Brunswick and Lower Canada. The trees, particularly the fir tribes, grow to immense heights and sizes, and a great timber country may be opened along this river. The quality is in great repute among the timber dealers in England, especially in the port of Liverpool, and considered equal to that imported from Miramichi.

The greatest difficulty to surmount appeared to me to be the hauling or bringing it out to the rivers, as the best timber groves are in the valleys behind the mountainous ridges, which in most places follow the winding of the streams. The indefatigable spirit of the lumberers, however, is such, that they overcome natural obstacles that would stagger the resolution of other people. They cut the timber, and haul it, in winter, to places where there is often no water, either in summer or winter; but which, they well know, will be overflown when the spring thaws dissolve the snow on the mountains and in the woods.

There are three or four timber merchants at and near Rustigouche, who have exported several cargoes

of timber during the last few years. Besides the quantity of salmon used by the inhabitants and lumbering parties, a great share of the salmon caught in this river is sold to the traders, who export the same to Quebec, Halifax, or direct to the West Indies.

Although the country between the Bay de Chaleur and the River St Lawrence, forming the district of Gaspè, is in Lower Canada, I include its description in this chapter, from the connexion that subsists between one part of the bay and another.

The River of Bonaventure, on the north side of the bay, is about thirty miles below Rustigouche. It rises in a fine lake about forty miles in the interior, and flows rapidly through a richly wooded country to its *débouché*, where there is a small harbour, which at high water will admit brigs of two hundred tons; and on each side of which there is a thickly-settled population of industrious Acadian French. These people have much simplicity in their manners, and strangers always meet with kindness and hospitality among them. They are principally engaged in the herring and cod fisheries; next to which, they derive considerable assistance from the cultivation of the soil. They build boats and fishing vessels for themselves; and, during winter, some of the young men have, since 1817, spent part of their time in hewing timber in the woods; this, however, is an employment which they do not seem fond of. There is a Catholic church in this village; and on the

beach, near the mouth of the harbour, there are salt stores, fish houses, &c.

A more contented, honest, and amiable population than the Acadians of Bonaventure, I have not met with.

Carlisle is the principal place in the district of Gaspè. It is laid out for a town, and its situation, during summer, is agreeable and beautiful. There is a substantial and handsome stone building here, in which the district court is held, and in which there is also a jail.* The population is composed of people from different parts of America and Europe, and the character of the majority of them is considered not of the most honest description, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring settlements. Carlisle has no harbour, but vessels anchor with safety in the road during summer and autumn. Vast quantities of red herrings are cured in this place; and some of the lands are under tolerable cultivation.

Two miles below Carlisle is the settlement of Pas-

* I saw, in 1819, the judge of this court and his brother, who had been a captain in the army. They were certainly as perfect pictures of penury as could well be discovered in any country; and yet both were men of liberal education. They lived in a small house without a servant; they cooked for themselves, and mended their own clothes, which were patched all over with various colours, and seldom subjected to the influence of soap and water. The judge was formerly a lawyer at Quebec, but said to be promoted to the bench of the district of Gaspè by the joint efforts of the bar of which he was a member, in order to get rid of so dirty and penurious a being. Hoarding money was the apparent object of their existence. The military man died since, I believe, of a fever; the judge soon after committed suicide. He left a considerable fortune.

pabiac, inhabited chiefly by Acadian French, who employ themselves principally in fishing. There are also several people from Jersey, attached to the highly respectable fishing establishment of Messrs Robin and Co. The harbour or lagoon of Paspabiac admits only very small schooners and boats; but ships and large schooners ride safely at anchor in the road. The fish stores, flakes, &c., are ranged along a very fine beach, where the people connected with the fisheries are incessantly employed during the summer and autumn; in winter they retire back near to the woods. Messrs Robin's establishment was formed, I believe, nearly fifty years ago, by the elder partner and parent of the firm; and its admirable plan of systematic management, the essential characteristics of which, are ceaseless industry, frugality, and prudent caution, and particularly in having no one engaged about the business that is not usefully or productively employed, has long secured to it the most solid prosperity. During summer, their ships, ten, or often more, in number, are moored in the road, with their top-masts and yards lowered, and the whole, I believe, given in charge to one master and his crew; while the other masters, with their crews, are dispatched in shallops to various parts of the bay, either to fish, or collect the cured fish from the fishermen who receive their supplies from Messrs Robin and Co. In autumn, the ships depart with full cargoes of the best fish for ports in Portugal, Spain, and within the Mediterranean. They have also a ship-building establishment, where they have built a ship annually; and I know one of these

ships, the "Day," now in good condition, although built more than twenty-four years ago.

A few miles below Paspabiac is situated the small harbour and pretty settlement of Little Nouvelle; below which, as far along the coast as Cape Desespoir, the land and soil assume a rugged and rather barren appearance.

Port Daniel is the best harbour within the Bay de Chaleur, and the features of its scenery are dark, wild, and prominent. There are but a few families in this place, and they appeared to me to be in great poverty. It is convenient for fishing; but the soil near the shore is rocky and barren.

Great and Little Pabos, and Grand River, are small harbours with intricate entrances, situated along the coast between Port Daniel and Cape Desespoir. The inhabitants, few in number, support themselves by the means of fishing and a little cultivation. The soil near the shore is indifferent, but at some distance back, along numerous streams flowing from several lakes, there are many fertile spots.

Percé is the oldest fishing settlement in this district. Immediately over it a mountain rises abruptly, and its romantic summit ascends to the clouds. This mountain, or cape, I consider to be the first rise or commencement of the great Alleghany chain. This immense granitic range, branching into numerous ramifications, follows a course nearly parallel to the St Lawrence; and then, to the eastward of Lake Champlain, bends to the southward, until it is finally lost by dipping into the Carolinas.

Bonaventure Island lies about a mile east from Percé. Its south, east, and north sides present inaccessible cliffs. On the west, opposite Percé, boats may always land, where there are two or three fishing plantations established by industrious adventurers from Jersey. This island and Percé are both important fishing ports, and the inhabitants are all fishermen.

The channel between Percé and Bonaventure Island is deep, and without rocks or shoals, with the exception of Roc Percé, which stands at the northern entrance. This extraordinary and picturesque rock is nearly two hundred feet high, of a zigzag narrow shape, and about three hundred feet long; it has two arches or openings through it, sufficiently large to allow boats carrying sail to pass under. The settlement of Percé has its name from the rock: the Canadian French having called it Roc Percé, from its appearance.

About two miles to the northward of this place, the inhabitants say that two English men-of-war were wrecked, which belonged to the squadron (Commodore Phipps's) that attempted to take Quebec in 1711, and that the sailors after landing perished from cold and want of food. This may be true, as few of Phipps's ships were ever heard of. The most superstitious stories of apparitions having often been seen, and of shouting and talking after the manner of sailors having been frequently heard, are related by the *habitans*, who are of French descent. The wild, lofty, and terrific character of the scenery, parti

cularly in the fall and winter, when the winds blow furiously against the cliffs and round the mountains, with the impression that the crews of two ships perished there after landing, and that their bodies were never buried, are sufficient to work imaginations, naturally credulous, into the most unlimited belief in the marvellous.

For three or four months in summer and autumn, the climate of this district is remarkably fine, and the country, which is all covered with wood, exhibits a luxuriant, but from the sombre hue of the fir-trees, which predominate, a wild appearance.

I never felt the fascinating power of nature more strongly than, in 1824, on approaching the land, and sailing from the southward through the passage of Percé. The landscape was the richest imaginable: the sun was setting beyond the mountainous background; the heavens had just cleared up, after lightning and thunder, and a heavy shower of an hour's duration, which had then passed over us; the clouds were magnificently adorned with the effulgent brilliancy of the most inimitable colours; the sea was quite calm, and extended up the Bay de Chaleur, on the one hand, and into the Gulf of St Lawrence, on the other, beyond the scope of vision; while its surface, smooth as that of a mirror, reflected with precision the splendour of the heavens, the sombre cast of the wooded mountains, and the enlivening counterpart of the houses, stores, and fish-flakes. Roc Percé stood in bold ruggedness, with its arches near the middle of the passage; Cape Gaspè, high, steep, and black, but

its rocky ridge at this time gilded with the setting sun, appeared in the distance. Bonaventure Island, with its steep cliffs, and deep green firs, rose on the right; Mount Percé on the left. Several vessels were within view; two schooners were anchored near the fish stores, and the sea was spotted over with more than a hundred fishing-boats.

Gaspè Harbour is one of the best in the world; it is situated immediately below the entrance of the River St Lawrence. The inhabitants are thinly settled in three or four places, and are employed chiefly in the cod and herring fisheries. Little cultivation appears, and there does not seem to be any great extent of good land, about the harbour: farther back, in the valleys, excellent soil, covered with large trees, is met with. A few cargoes of timber have been shipped here for England; and some of the inhabitants pursue the whale-fishery, which has for some years been carried on at Gaspè.

The whales caught within the Gulf of St Lawrence are those called "*hump-backs*," which yield, on an average, about three tons of oil; some have been taken seventy feet long, which produced eight tons. The mode of taking them is somewhat different from that followed by the Greenland fishers; and the Gaspè fishermen first acquired an acquaintance with it from the people of Nantucket. An active man, accustomed to boats and schooners, may become fully acquainted with every thing connected with this fishery in one season. The vessels best adapted for the purpose, are schooners of from seventy to

eighty tons burden, manned with a crew of eight men, including the master. Each schooner requires two boats, about twenty feet long, built narrow and sharp, and with *pink* sterns; and two hundred and twenty fathoms of line are necessary in each boat, with spare harpoons and lances. The men row towards the whale, and, when they are very near, use paddles, which make less noise than oars. Whales are sometimes taken fifteen minutes after they are struck with the harpoon. The Gaspè fishermen never go out in quest of them until some of the small ones, which enter the bay about the beginning of June, appear; these swim too fast to be easily harpooned, and are not, besides, worth the trouble. The large whales are taken off the entrance of Gaspè Bay, on each side of the Island of Anticosti, and up the River St Lawrence as far as Bique.*

The district of Gaspè affords many tracts of soil fit for the raising of wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, &c.; and the climate, although nearly as cold in winter as in Sweden, is, in summer and harvest, very warm, and of sufficient length to ripen to per-

* On the north side of the St Lawrence, some miles farther up than *Isle de Bique*, I saw in a small cove the skeletons of several whales, that had been towed ashore for the purpose of stripping off the blubber, which was afterwards melted into oil in boilers, which I observed fixed on shore for the purpose.

In 1824, a whale, more than seventy feet in length, after proceeding further than the common distance up the St Lawrence, apparently lost its usual instinct, and still continued its course until stopped by the shoals above Montreal, where it was killed, two hundred and seventy miles from salt water.

fection all the kinds of grain and vegetables that grow in England. The ungranted fertile lands are capable of receiving and supporting a population of more than one hundred thousand; but it would not be wise to locate more than two thousand annually.

CHAPTER VI.

Trade—Imports and Exports—Timber Trade—Lumbering Parties—Rafting—Habits and Character of a Lumberer—Manner of preparing Timber for Exportation—Saw-Mills—Agriculture—Attention of Sir Howard Douglas to the Encouragement of Husbandry—Agricultural and Emigrant Societies—Live Stock and Average Crops.

THE trade of New Brunswick consists chiefly in exporting square timber, deals, spars, staves, and a few firs, to Great Britain and Ireland, in return for British manufactures; and in shipping boards, shingles, scantling, and fish, to the West Indies, for which, rum, sugar, tobacco, and dollars, are brought back. Gypsum and grindstones are shipped on board of American vessels, from the free ports of St John and St Andrew; and, to the disgrace of the inhabitants of the province, who might be independent of others for bread stuffs, by more industrious attention to the cultivation of the soil, from 50,000 to 60,000 barrels of flour and meal, and from 3000 to 4000 quintals of bread, besides Indian corn, have been for some years annually imported from the United States, for which scarcely any thing but Spanish dollars is paid.

The imports during the speculative year 1824, were in 1273 vessels, measuring 262,294 tons, and navigated by 12,271 men. The estimated value of their cargoes was L.614,557 sterling. The exports during the same period were in 1265 ships, measuring 260,154 tons, navigated by 12,214 men. The value of their cargoes was estimated at L.432,048 sterling ; and to this amount must be added 74 new ships, which were built during the year within the province, and sent to the United Kingdom for sale as remittances for British merchandise. These vessels measured 20,621 tons, which, at the estimated value of L.10 per ton, amount to L.206,210 sterling, which, added to the value of the cargoes, L.432,048, makes the whole L.638,258 ; an extraordinary amount for a population then not above 80,000.

The average number of vessels entered and cleared at the different ports in the province, for the years 1827, 1828, 1829, shows an increase in the number of vessels, but a decrease in the amount of tonnage. The average of these years gives 2071 vessels, 237,189 tons, and 11,769 men. This difference arises, first, from the circumstance of the timber trade, in which the largest ships, and consequently a greater number of men, were employed, having, in the years 1824 and 1825, been carried on to an extraordinary extent, which suddenly, soon after the repeal of the navigation laws, diminished ; and, secondly, from the great increase in the number of smaller vessels employed in the trade with the

West Indies, in the coasting trade, and in the fisheries. The average imports for the last three years amount to about L.450,000 sterling; and the exports, exclusive of about 120 new ships, measuring 24,000 tons, built during the whole period, amount to about L.360,000 sterling; the balance being partly paid for in dollars to the Americans, and partly by new ships sold in England.

The non-admission of the vessels of the United States into the ports of the British West Indies, has opened a profitable trade to New Brunswick; and all that I have stated on the subject of that trade, in the First Book of this Volume, applies with equal truth to this province.

The fisheries have for some time received encouragement in the shape of bounties from the legislature, and this branch of trade is gradually increasing.

The timber trade, which has hitherto constituted the great business of the colony, will likely, for many years to come, continue to engross the principal attention of the merchants. Great gains were at first realized, both by it and by ship-building; and although the merchants, and others concerned in these pursuits, were nearly all ruined afterwards, by the extent of their engagements, when our navigation laws were repealed, and on the free-trade system being suddenly introduced, yet it must be recollected, that each of those trades have enabled New Brunswick to pay for her foreign imports; and by means

of the timber trade have St John's, St Andrew's, and Fredericton, been built.

To the new settler on wilderness-lands, it presented also a ready resource; and it was wise, if not necessary for him, under most circumstances, to engage in it for a few winters; as, by the gains attending it, he was put in possession of the means of stocking his farm, and clothing himself and family. The province, therefore, gained great advantage by this trade; and although it is not less certain that it has been prosecuted much farther than the extent of a remunerative demand for timber, it would, notwithstanding, be extreme folly to abandon it altogether. Half of the people engaged in the timber trade and ship-building, have only to give their industry another direction, and the remainder may work to advantage. In this view, agriculture offers the most alluring, and, at the same time, the most certain source of employment. The fisheries follow next. Let the industry of the inhabitants be but divided between agriculture, the timber trade, and the fisheries, and this beautiful and fertile province will probably flourish beyond any precedent. But the farmer, unless he be a settler on woodlands, must adhere to agriculture alone; the lumberer will do better, or at least he will realize more money, by following his own business; and those engaged in the fisheries, will find it their interest to confine themselves chiefly to the same pursuit.

The effects of the projects of 1824 have scarce-

ly yet spent their force; the reaction has indeed been terrible to the merchants of New Brunswick. What Halifax suffered after the last American war, St John's was now doomed to endure. The docks of London and Liverpool were at this time crowded with fine ships, built by the merchants in North America, and sent to England for sale. The demand and price for such vessels having previously increased to an unusual rate, the commercial men of New Brunswick were not only more extensively engaged in this trade, than the merchants in the other provinces were; but, from the facility which they had experienced before this time in making large remittances to England, in ships and timber, they incautiously plunged themselves deeply into debt, by importing large quantities of goods of all descriptions.

The consequence was, that their ships have been disposed of for less than half the prime cost; their timber was sold for less than the expense of carrying it to the United Kingdom; bills drawn by houses of long standing, and the highest respectability, were returned dishonoured. The unparalleled suddenness of so unexpected a commercial calamity, prevented the most cautious and experienced from guarding against the ruin which awaited them. They had all their funds locked up, either in ships already built and rigged, in ships on the stocks, or else in timber. It became necessary, at whatever sacrifice, to finish and send to England the vessels then in progress of building, or submit to lose all the money they had

laid out. In most cases, it would have been well to have done so.

Many, who considered themselves wealthy, were thus ruined ; and all engaged in trade have suffered, some severely, others in a less degree. In future, it is almost certain that such vessels only will be built as may be required for the fisheries, or for the carrying trade of the province ; and the building of ships for the British market is now nearly altogether relinquished.

The causes of the losses sustained by the merchants engaged in the timber trade are numerous ; but principally arising, first, from the repeal of the navigation laws, and the introduction, without due notice, of the free-trade system ; which, from the low price of labour and naval stores in the northern kingdoms of Europe, enables the people of those countries to export timber to Great Britain at extremely low prices ; and, secondly, from the lumberers not being able, or indeed willing, to pay the debts they contracted with the merchants, in consequence of the depreciated value of timber. Many adventurers, also, without any capital, from witnessing extraordinary gains having been occasionally made by the merchants and master lumberers, entered into this business, and who, having nothing to lose, ventured into daring speculations, which were exceedingly injurious to regularly established merchants.

The most absurd objections are made, either from interest or prejudice, against American timber, al-

though for most purposes it is equal, and for many superior, to that from Norway. One of these objections is at the same time untrue and ridiculous; that is, its being more congenial to the propagation of bugs than any other wood. It has been confidently stated in some of the public prints, that not only do the trees in the forest abound with these disgusting insects, but that the timber, when landed from the ships, has swarmed with them. I need only observe, that there can be little difference between European and American timber, as far as regards the one being more genial to the increase of bugs than the other; they are exceedingly rare in the wooden buildings in America, except in the oldest houses in the towns; and it is well known that there are few of the old houses in the towns in England, that are not infested with those loathsome vermicula. The durability of American timber is also questioned; the yellow is certainly not so durable as the red pine of Norway, although for many purposes it is much better adapted. The pitch pine, red pine, and juniper, or American larch, will, I am firmly convinced, last as long as any wood of the same genus growing in any part of Europe. The hemlock, a large tree of the fir tribe, is, I consider, the most durable wood in the world; and it possesses the peculiar property of preserving iron driven into it, either under water or exposed to the air, from corroding.

The timber trade, which, in a commercial as well as a political point of view, is of more importance in

employing our ships and seamen, and the occasioning a great addition to the demand for British manufactures, than it is generally considered to be, employs also a vast number of people in the British colonies, whose manner of living, owing to the nature of the business they follow, is entirely different from that of the other inhabitants of North America.

Several of these people form what is termed a "lumbering party," composed of persons who are all either hired by a master lumberer, who pays them wages and finds them in provisions, or of individuals, who enter into an understanding with each other, to have a joint interest in the proceeds of their labour. The necessary supplies of provisions, clothing, &c., are generally obtained from the merchants on credit, in consideration of receiving the timber, which the lumberers are to bring down the rivers the following summer. The stock deemed requisite for a "*lumbering party*," consists of axes, a cross-cut saw, cooking utensils, a cask of rum, tobacco and pipes; a sufficient quantity of biscuit, pork, beef, and fish, pease and pearl barley for soup, with a cask of molasses to sweeten a decoction usually made of shrubs, or of the tops of the hemlock-tree, and taken as tea. Two or three yokes of oxen, with sufficient hay to feed them, are also required to haul the timber out of the woods.*

When thus prepared, these people proceed up the

* The quantity of stock is, of course, greater or less according to the number who compose the party. Some of the Canada lumberers carry an enormous stock to the woods.

rivers, with the provisions, &c., to the place fixed on for their winter establishment, which is selected as near a stream of water as possible. They commence by clearing away a few of the surrounding trees, and building a shanty, or camp of round logs, the walls of which are seldom more than four or five feet high; the roof is covered with birch bark, or boards. A pit is dug under the camp to preserve any thing liable to injury from the frost. The fire is either in the middle, or at one end; the smoke goes out through the roof; hay, straw, or fir-branches are spread across, or along the whole length of this habitation, on which they all lie down together at night to sleep, with their feet next the fire. When the fire gets low, he who first awakes or feels cold, springs up, and throws on five or six billets, and in this way they manage to have a large fire all night. One person is hired as cook, whose duty is to have breakfast ready before daylight; at which time all the party rise, when each takes his "morning," or the indispensable dram of raw spirits, immediately before breakfast. This meal consists of bread, or occasionally potatoes, with boiled beef, pork, or fish, and tea sweetened with molasses; dinner is usually the same, with pease-soup in place of *tea*; and the supper resembles breakfast. These men are enormous eaters; and they also drink great quantities of rum, which they scarcely ever dilute. Immediately after breakfast, they divide into three *gangs*; one of which cuts down the trees, another hews them, and the third is employed with the oxen in hauling the timber, either

to one general road leading to the banks of the nearest stream, or at once to the stream itself; fallen trees, and other impediments in the way of the oxen, are cut away with an axe.

The whole winter is thus spent in unremitting labour. The snow covers the ground from two to three feet from the setting in of winter until April; and, in the middle of fir forests, often till the middle of May. When the snow begins to dissolve in April, the rivers swell, or, according to the lumberer's phrase, the "*freshets come down!*" At this time, all the timber cut during winter is thrown into the water, and floated down until the river becomes sufficiently wide to make the whole into one or more rafts.

The construction of the vast masses of timber floated down the St Lawrence, and other great rivers of America, is nearly on all occasions similar, but bound proportionably stronger together as the rafts increase in size. The raftsmen commence by floating twenty or more pieces of timber alongside each other, with the ends to form the fore-part of the raft brought in a line, and then bound close together by logs placed across these, and by binding one log to another with poles fastened down by withes plugged firmly into holes bored in the logs for the purpose. The size of the raft is increased in this manner by adding pieces of timber, one after another, with their unequal lengths crossing the *joints*, until the whole lot of timber to be rafted, is joined together, in one flat mass, on the river. The water at this period is exceedingly cold, yet, for weeks together, the lumberers are in it from

morning till night, and it is seldom less than a month and a half, from the time that floating the timber down the streams commences, until the rafts are delivered to the merchants.

No course of life can undermine the constitution more than that of a lumberer and raftsman. The winter, snow, and frost, although severe, are nothing to endure in comparison to the extreme coldness of the snow-water of the freshets, in which the lumberer is, day after day, wet up to the middle, and often immersed from head to foot. The very vitals are thus chilled and sapped ; the intense heat of the summer sun, a transition which almost immediately follows, must further weaken and reduce the whole frame, and premature old age is the inevitable fate of a lumberer. But notwithstanding all the toils of such a pursuit, those who once adopt the life of a lumberer, prefer it to any other They are in a great measure as independent, in their own way, as the Indians. After selling and delivering up their rafts, they pass some weeks in idle indulgence, drinking, smoking, and *dashing off* in a long coat, flashy waistcoat and trowsers, Wellington or Hessian boots, a handkerchief of many colours round the neck, a watch with a long tinsel chain and numberless brass seals, and an *umbrella*. Before winter, they return again to the woods, and resume the laborious pursuits of the preceding year. The greater number of the lumberers and raftsmen, in Canada and New Brunswick, are from the United States. Many young men of steady habits in our colonies, are in the habit of joining the

lumbering parties for two or three years, for the express purpose of making money ; and, after saving their earnings, purchase or receive grants of lands, on which they live very comfortably, cultivating the soil, and occasionally cutting down the timber trees on their lands for market.

An argument has lately been used by some people in power, in order to enable them to shackle the timber imported from our colonies with an additional duty of ten shillings per load, which would, with a proposed reduction of five in the duty on foreign timber, entirely annihilate the colonial timber trade. The argument is, that all those engaged in cutting timber, are worthless, unsteady, and villainous characters. I readily grant that many of the mere lumberers and raftsmen are of this stamp ; but a vast proportion of our timber is necessarily cut down by the permanent and most industrious people in the colonies ; and before they can secure all that is required for their necessities, by the means of agriculture alone, they are generally compelled to fly to the only resource within their grasp, in order to obtain food, clothing, and seed.

The trees cut down for the timber of commerce, are not, indeed, of the smallest importance in respect to clearing the lands, although I have heard it urged in England, as an argument in favour of the timber trade. The lumberers choose the trees that they consider the most suitable, and not one in a thousand is esteemed so. Almost every description of forest trees would be valuable for different purposes, if once land-

ed in the United Kingdom ; but the principal part of the cost is the freight across the Atlantic, and in order, therefore, that a ship may carry the greatest possible quantity, the largest and straightest trees are hewn square, and not brought round to market, as the trees cut down in England are. The new settler is, however, enabled to clear the lands of the smaller trees, while the larger are hewn down, to sell for food ; and when he at last raises a superabundance of agricultural productions, the operations of the timber trade create a market for them. Sir Howard Douglas, in a most ably written pamphlet (lately published) on the importance of the British American Colonies, observes with great truth, in allusion to the proposed alteration in the timber duties, " The pursuits of the emigrant are, it is true, essentially agricultural ; but let it not be overlooked that agricultural operations in a country covered with forests, must commence and be accompanied by the operations of the lumberer. The poor emigrant begins his labour with the axe, and his greatest, his chief resource in earning money, wherewith to buy what he wants, is in manufacturing shingles or staves, or in felling timber. Let this measure pass," (that part of Lord Althorpe's finance theory which relates to the timber trade ;) " let the British North American trade languish ; let the inter-colonial trade with the West Indies be unprotected ; and the miseries, and the distresses, which the emigrant may have endured as a pauper at home, would be nothing to those to

which he will be consigned in the wilds to which he has been removed."

The squeamish absurdity of bringing forward, as an argument, the demoralizing tendency of the timber business, which is only true, and that partially, as relates to the professed lumberers and raftsmen, in order to force agriculture in the colonies, exhibits the most gross ignorance of British America, and the most slender acquaintance with all the great branches of national industry. A statesman might with equal wisdom say, I have just discovered that a vast number of the labourers employed in the various operations of the coal trade, constitute a most immoral portion of the community, and I will therefore drive them to some other more innocent occupation, by saddling the trade with restrictions, sufficiently heavy to prevent his majesty's subjects using coal for fuel. He might also say, I find that the operatives employed in the cotton factories at Manchester, are neither so virtuous, sober, provident, nor religious, as they would be if they were husbandmen. I will therefore adopt measures that will compel them to be agriculturists, by laying such burdens on their fabrics as will prevent their being used either in these kingdoms or by the people of any other nation. He might go still farther, and say, I have really discovered that the Glasgow and Paisley weavers are tolerably thrifty; but I have also discovered that those fellows actually read Blackwood's Magazine, even the Noctes; and that they read the Edinburgh Review, and, worse than all, they read books that give

birth to sceptical ideas, not only in religion, but in politics. I am therefore determined, in order to cure these evils, to prohibit, by the imposition of heavy duties, the wearing of Glasgow or Paisley fabrics, and thereby compel the weavers to become shepherds.

The importance of our colonial timber trade is far from being justly appreciated, and apparently least so of all by men in office. Its consequences may appear from the following facts.

It employs in its intercourse with the United Kingdom alone, about one-third of all the British tonnage trading beyond the seas, or about 300,000 tons, navigated by 16,000 seamen, who are exposed to all varieties of climate and seas; most of these ships make two voyages annually.

British manufactures to the value, at the first cost, of more than L.2,000,000, are required in the colonies, to pay for the timber and deals imported from them to these kingdoms.

The quantity of timber and deals imported from the colonies, on an average for the last few years, amounts to about 400,000 loads annually; the freight of which goes first to the British ship-owner, and the benefits of which are chiefly received by various classes, such as sailors, riggers, rope-makers, ship-chandlers, carpenters, anchor-smiths, and all those employed in manufacturing the vast number of articles required in the building and fitting out of ships; and a very great share goes to benefit the landed interest, in payment of bread stuffs, and fish, and salted provisions.

The timber ships are also enabled, in consequence of having a home freight, to carry out emigrants at less than half the fares they otherwise could. Of about 40,000 new settlers that arrived in our North American Colonies, during the year 1830, more than 30,000 were carried out by the timber ships.

When we also consider the greatly increased employment given to those engaged in our manufactories, and to the vast numbers who relieve the industry of the United Kingdom, by finding employment in our colonies, chiefly through the operations of the timber trade, its importance must be still more apparent. Nor must we forget its immense consequence in training hardy sailors, who may, when we least expect to want them, be required to defend our country from foreign invasion. All the duty expected by the government from the additional impost is only L.600,000; and this presumption holds out that there would be imported from the Baltic, in addition to what is received under the present regulations, a quantity equal to half of what is imported from the British Colonies. The result will be found very different. The competition will be destroyed; the price of timber will be enhanced, and the consumption consequently diminished; foreign ships and foreign merchants, and those connected with them, would alone enjoy the benefits of the monopoly.

The proposed alteration extends an advantage of fifteen shillings per load to foreigners, which, with the alterations in the duty on deals, amounts, according to the opinion of all men practically acquainted

with the business, to a prohibition of our colonial timber, and consequently to the non-employment in that trade of the ships engaged in it.

That our ships would not find remunerative employment in the foreign timber trade, is obvious. The reason plainly is, that the Prussians, Russians, Norwegians, as the custom-house reports show, employ, in almost all instances, their own ships; and as they can, from various causes, build their vessels at half the cost, and victual and man them at one-third the expense of British ships, they can also, with other advantages they possess, particularly in Prussia, where the sovereign contracts with his own ships to bring back the salt of which he has the monopoly, always afford to carry timber at a rate of about eighteen shillings per load, while the British ships can barely do so at a remunerative rate, for less than twenty-eight shillings.

Let our government, therefore, establish the proposed alterations in the timber duties; and, laying aside all regard for our colonies, the effect will assuredly be, ruin to British ship-owners, an extraordinary decrease of demand for our manufactures, consequent distress by throwing vast numbers on the parishes, who cannot escape the evils of poverty by emigration; driving thousands of our sailors into the service of the United States, to find that employment in their merchant ships, which is denied them in our own; and, in the event of a war, to become, in desperation, on board of the American navy, our most deadly enemies. The experience of the past affords us mate-

rials too solid to destroy these conclusions. God forefend us from theories that may realize them.

The forms in which the forest woods of British America are exported to Europe or to our settlements in the West Indies, are various, and adapted to answer the purposes of future application as well as the economy of transportation. The great bulk of wood exported is in the shape of huge trees reduced by hewers, until the sides form right angles with each other, and tapering from the but-end to the top, both of which are also cut across at right angles with the sides. In this form, whether the pieces be pine, spruce, oak, birch, or maple, it obtains the general name of square timber.

Pine logs from forty to seventy feet long, and from two to three feet thick, are frequent in a cargo.

Deals and boards are sawn generally at the mills along the streams, out of round logs, and are usually one, two, and three inches thick, and of indefinite length and breadth. Standard deals, however, in order to contain as many superficial feet as possible, on payment of the same duty in England, have fixed dimensions, and the best is nineteen feet eleven inches in length, eleven inches in breadth, and full three inches thick.

Scantling consists of spruce or pine-trees, reduced by hewing or sawing to a size fit for beams, rafters, and other parts of the framework of buildings.

Trees of oak, ash, or fir, intended for staves, are cut with a saw into proper lengths for pipes, puncheons, hogsheads, and barrels, and then split with the tool used by coopers, called a frower.

Lath-wood, for which hemlock and pine-trees are preferred, consists of roughly split junks, three, four, and six feet long, and form, with deals and staves, what is termed the *broken stowage*, or what fills up the vacancies in the cargoes of square timber exported from America to the United Kingdom.

Shingles, which are used in America, and in the West Indies, for the same purpose as slates and tiles in Britain, are thin boards, from eighteen to thirty inches long, four to six inches broad, and at one end three-eighths of an inch thick, while at the other they are reduced to less than an eighth of an inch. They are, in the first instance, cut and split in the same manner as staves, and reduced and smoothed with a drawing-knife, in the same way as coopers in England dress staves. The roofs of buildings are shingled much in the same form as roofs are slated in Britain; and, when painted to correspond in colour, have very much the same appearance.

Clap-boards, which are rather more than half an inch thick, and from six to eight inches broad, are used for lining the outside of the walls of houses, and the edges, to shed off the wet, overlap each other.

Houses, with the walls clap-boarded and painted white, and the roofs shingled, and painted a slate-colour, have a pretty, lively, and remarkably clean appearance.

Masts and spars are exported of all dimensions, from those required for the smallest sloops to those for the largest ships. Spars are usually exported round, with the bark left on; unless they be very

large, and they are then reduced from the middle to the but-end. Masts are always partially reduced. Pieces for oars are also roughly dressed before shipping.

Square timber, masts, spars, deals, staves, and lath-wood, constitute the cargoes of the ships in the timber trade of America with the United Kingdom; and the general term, lumber, which comprises scantling, deals, inch-thick boards, clap-boards, shingles, staves, and hoops, designates the forms into which the timber trees of America are shaped for exportation to the West Indies.

Wherever a settlement is formed in America, a saw-mill is very soon after, if not at the same time, erected. The number of saw-mills in the British colonies are inconceivable to those who are not familiarized to the rising settlements of new countries. A saw-mill is, in fact, a most important establishment. It not only forms a *nucleus* or centre to a settlement, but a first-rate saw-mill, with two frames, will give employment to four first-rate, four second-rate, and two third-rate, sawyers; besides a measurer, a blacksmith, and from thirty to forty men to prepare the timber required, and for other requisite work connected with the establishment; twenty oxen and two horses are also necessary for hauling the timber required to the streams and to other places. The boards, deals, or scantling, sawed at these mills, excepting such as are required for the use of the neighbouring settlers, are rafted down the rivers for shipping. As fresh waters change the colour of the

deals from their fresh whiteness to a dark grey, and, in the eye of prejudice, depreciates their value, it becomes an object, but one that can only be attended to occasionally, to carry them down in *bateaux*, scows, or on timber rafts.

The agriculture of New Brunswick, which must one day be the essential pursuit of the majority of its population, was long considered as unworthy of attention, as if the lands of the province were incapable of yielding any valuable production excepting pine-trees, and as if these, and the furs of wild animals, with the salmon that frequented its rivers, and the cod, herring, mackerel, gaspereaux, and shad, that swarmed round its shores, were the only means from which the inhabitants should ever derive their subsistence, or upon which they could depend for the sources of their wealth.*

The cultivation of the soil was a pursuit that continued for a long time without attractions. The fertile diked marshes of Westmoreland, and the rich intervale lands on the St John and other rivers, were, it is true, under tillage, or appropriated to grazing; but, further than raising a sufficient quantity of grain

* I heard an observation made in 1824, by a gentleman of talent in the colonies, when comparing the condition of Nova Scotia with that of New Brunswick. "Every country," he said, "has its age. The present age of New Brunswick is the 'age of wood.' It must be so, until it become more populously settled, and then the lands will be well cultivated. It will have its 'age of agriculture' in due time. In new countries, you must allow people to gain their living as they best can; you cannot force them into any path of industry; but you may gradually lead them by your example, when they observe that you are thriving."

and potatoes for a bare subsistence, and raising a horse or two, and a few horned cattle, sheep, and pigs, agriculture in reality languished; and the majority of the most valuable farms, according to the best information given me, were, both in 1815 and in 1825, mortgaged to their full value. Many of the fine extensively cleared farms in this, and in all the other North American colonies, may, I believe, be found, at the present day, under similar embarrassments, wherever the possessors have followed other pursuits, in preference to the cultivation and improvement of their lands.

The establishment of agricultural societies in Nova Scotia had some influence on the farmers of New Brunswick; but it does not appear that the spirit of agriculture began to diffuse itself with any degree of animation, until after the appointment of Sir Howard Douglas to the administration of the government.*

The penetration of Sir Howard immediately discovered that the fertile lands of the province afforded the most substantial source of subsistence and plenty to its inhabitants. He accordingly requested a meeting of the members of the legislature, and other respectable gentlemen, from all parts of the province, at Fredericton, in February 1825. He addressed them in a speech, which explicitly stated his views in calling them together. His address, on occasion of this meeting, proved how well he knew the condition of the province. He adverted, with great truth, to the vast sums the colony paid to other countries for food, and to the necessity of cultivating its exten-

* Note D.

sive fertile lands. He then directed their attention to whatever might render the condition of emigrants comfortable, or their labours useful; and recommended the establishment of a savings' bank, and the formation of agricultural and emigrant societies.

These were established immediately after; and, in order to improve the breed of live stock, horses, bulls of the short-horned Durham breed, rams of the Dishly or Leicestershire breed, pigs, &c., with various improved implements of husbandry, as models by which to make others, were imported by the agricultural society. District agricultural societies were also formed soon after; and the spirit of agriculture has since that period been gradually diffusing itself among the farmers all over the province; while emulation has been excited by ploughing-matches, the exhibition of cattle and agricultural productions, and by the distribution of premiums.

The colony still requires, however, a vast addition of industrious settlers, of rural habits, to its present population, before it can attain that prosperity, independence, and wealth, for which its valuable lands afford a solid and permanent foundation.

Horses, black cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry, thrive as well in New Brunswick as in England.*

* A young ox, reared in the province by Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, weighed, when killed—

The carcass, exclusive of the offal,	1147 lbs.
Tallow, - - -	140
Hide, - - -	136
	1423 lbs.

A lumberer, at the south-west branch of the River Miramichi, killed a hog that weighed 1232 lbs; its head alone weighed 93 lbs.

Near the sea-coast of the Bay of Fundy, wheat crops, owing to the fogs, are uncertain; but, in the interior, all kinds of grain and vegetables, besides some others, ripen in full perfection, and on alluvial lands yield great returns. The average return of Indian corn may be rated at eighty bushels an acre.

The general returns of wheat crops are about eighteen bushels per acre. On intervales, or newly cultivated lands, the returns are often thirty bushels or more. Much depends upon the seed being good. Accident bequeathed to the province a great benefit in this respect. Some years ago, a person, on opening a chest of tea, found in one corner a small quantity of wheat; how it got there no one can tell. Whether in London, on the chest being opened by the East India Company, or in China, is equally uncertain; but the seed was sown in New Brunswick; it grew and flourished better than any previously sown. The produce was preserved, sown again, and multiplied so rapidly, that it is, at the present time, the kind of seed-wheat generally sown, and known by the distinction of "tea-wheat."

What I have remarked, in treating of the agricultural productions, seed-time, and harvest, of Nova Scotia, applies equally to this province.

Vast quantities of hemp and flax, for which the intervale lands are well adapted, might be raised in all parts of New Brunswick.

In several parts of the woods, usually on small brooks, there are several wild prairies or meadows interspersed. They owe their formation to the in-

dustry of the beaver, and produce a rich grass called *blue-joint.*

A plant called *cow-corn* abounds on the hardwood uplands, on which cattle, that are turned out very lean in the spring to range the woods for food, fatten rapidly.

CHAPTER VII.

Population—Religion—Education—College of New Brunswick—Madras Schools.

THE population of New Brunswick, according to the census taken in 1824, was 74,176. This was considered much below the actual number, from the well-known suspicion which prevails among the labouring classes all over America, that the object of numbering the inhabitants has in view a poll-tax, or some species of taxation to be borne by them, in consequence of which, it is pretty well understood that the names of all the individuals of a family are not given.

The present population, according to the best information, and the opinion of intelligent men residing in the province, may be considered somewhat over 100,000. The augmentation has arisen from natural increase, and the arrival of emigrant settlers.

This population, like that of all the other colonies, consists of a mixed people from various parts; but differing, in their relative proportion to each other, from those of the adjacent colony of Nova Scotia, in which Scotchmen and their descendants predominate.

The oldest families are those, or the descendants of those, who settled in the colony previous to the American Revolution. They are scattered over most parts of the province; but chiefly on the banks of the River St John and its tributaries. A still more numerous body than these, consists of the loyalists, or their families, who removed to the colony from solid attachment to the government and laws of England, for which they submitted to the sacrifice of much valuable property, which they possessed in the United States, and exposed themselves to all the sufferings that I have already adverted to in the first chapter of this Book. These are also to be found principally in the parishes fronting on the River St John, and partially among the other settlements.

The French Acadians who are settled in the province, I have also alluded to in a former chapter.

Emigrants from Europe, consisting principally of English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, among whom those from Ireland greatly predominate, are found either intermixed among the early inhabitants, or, in some parts, forming distinct settlements.

In a few places, we find a number of negro families huddled together as cottagers; but I have discovered them to be, like those of Nova Scotia, all in a state of miserable poverty. Whenever I asked a thrifty old farmer, what was the cause that prevented the negroes from thriving, the reply invariably amounted to their being restless and dissipated in their habits, improvident, and destitute of the steady energy of mind so essential in the labours of hus-

bandry. The grown-up male and female negroes are, however, chiefly employed as domestic servants.

The Indians are fast declining in number, and all the attempts to civilize them, or to improve their condition, have hitherto failed. A school was established for them some time ago, in which some of their children were taught to read; but a gentleman, settled many years at Fredericton, told me that they turned out idle, and worse than the rest of the tribe. He considered them now so long neglected, so degenerated, and dwindled into such insignificant numbers, as to be incapable of civilisation. They have a small village ten miles above Fredericton, one at Meductic Point, on the River St John, another at the River Tobique, and one at Richibuctu. They are all Catholics.

The manners and customs of the inhabitants of New Brunswick resemble generally those of the other colonies already treated of—differing only, in there being much less of the Scottish traits of character, amusements, and customs, according to the much lesser proportion of Scotch among the inhabitants of New Brunswick, than among those of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. In their pursuits also, the greater proportion of the people of New Brunswick are engaged in the timber business; those of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton chiefly in cultivating the soil, and in the fisheries; those of Prince Edward Island chiefly in agriculture.

As to the natives of New Brunswick, the women are handsome; the men generally tall, well-made,

muscular, rather lank than otherwise, and scarcely ever corpulent. They are remarkably loyal, adventurous, spirited, and, if properly disciplined, would undoubtedly form excellent soldiers.

From the circumstance of its being a frontier colony, a great many adventurers, of doubtful and worthless characters, have found their way into the province; few of whom become farmers; but belong to that order who continue to live by "head-work," or scheming. Many of the transient lumberers are of this description. They must not by any means be confounded with the established settlers, whose characters are generally correct.

There are four or five military settlements in the province; and if such settlements were placed under the superintendence of proper officers, the number might be advantageously increased. Government should lend every possible encouragement to retired officers, who may be disposed to settle in this colony. Such men would diffuse and maintain a spirit of loyalty, and high ideas of honourable character among the inhabitants, which, particularly in a frontier colony, is a consideration of very great importance.

The religious denominations are the same as in Nova Scotia.

There are about twenty clergymen of the Church of England in the province, which is comprehended as within the diocese of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. They are supported by the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts. The Catholics

are principally Irish, French, and Indians, who have seven or eight clergymen, whom they support, in different parts of the province.

There are but two or three ministers in immediate connexion with the Kirk of Scotland in the colony. One of these, Dr Burns of St John's, is a preacher of superior talents and respectability. With the exception only of a solitary allowance of about L.50, these ministers are supported by their hearers.

There are several ministers of the Secession Church in the province, who have respectable congregations, and commodious places of worship. They are connected with the Synod of Pictou, and supported also by their own congregations.

The Methodists are numerous; many of them respectable, and many of them visionary fanatics. They have several missionaries and preachers, who attend the annual conference, held either in the province, or in Nova Scotia. They are chiefly supported by their hearers.

The Baptists are numerous, and most of them are respectable. About thirty years ago, their leaders departed from the "New Light" path of Whitfield, by baptizing only adults, and establishing a standard of faith, embodied in seventeen articles. They have several chapels, and support their own ministers. There are still some New Lights, and Quakers, a few Jews, and a number who attach themselves to no particular creed, to be met with in the province.

There is no want of religious instruction; but New Brunswick has by no means escaped the conta-

gious frenzy of fanaticism. Low uneducated preachers, who are either hypocritical canters, designing villains, or visionary enthusiasts, and who unfortunately have been too readily and too often admitted or acknowledged by sectarians, have frequently disturbed the settlements of the province.

Some years ago, a most indecent rogue, of the name of Lunt, prowled and raved among the inhabitants, with such address and success, that at length many hundreds of them believed him little less than a special messenger and prophet sent to them by the Most High. For a long time nothing was too good for him; but at length his excesses, and his violation of virgin chastity, roused public indignation against him, and obliged him to fly from the province. I was informed that he immediately afterwards became an attorney in the United States, and ridiculed all religions.

For a long time after the first settlement of the colony, the benefits of education were slenderly provided for. At present a liberal education may be obtained in the province at a moderate expense.

Soon after the arrival of Sir Howard Douglas as governor, a new charter was obtained for the College of New Brunswick, which allows the matriculation of students, without subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles, except on taking degrees in divinity, which is confined to the Church of England. I believe Sir Howard has applied, or intends to apply to the Scotch University, for some arrangement to obviate this inconvenience, in respect to students at the Col-

lege of New Brunswick, who wish to become ministers of the Church of Scotland.

A plat of six thousand acres of excellent land is immediately attached to the college for its benefit. The college was built under the auspices of Sir Howard Douglas. I have already described its situation. It has been opened for some time; and great and happy results may be expected from so well-founded an institution.

The grammar schools are supported partly by legislative aid. The one at St John's receives annually L.250; that at St Andrew's L.200; those in the other counties, L.175 each.

Schools on the Madras system are established in all the settlements, under the control of the governor and some of the most respectable gentlemen in the province, who are incorporated under the designation of the "Governors and Trustees of the Madras School in New Brunswick." The legislature grants about L.20 in aid of each school on this system.

NOTES TO BOOK II.

Note A, page 228.

In consequence of the great extent of the county of Northumberland, and the inconvenience to the inhabitants of attending the courts of law, at a long distance, and also to increase the representation of the province, Sir Howard Douglas very judiciously divided it into three counties, by the names of Northumberland, Kent, and Gloucester.

Note B, page 258.

Since I travelled in New Brunswick, I am informed the roads have been wonderfully improved. The most abominable of them, that from Westmoreland to Miramichi, and that by the Nerepis to Fredericton, are made fit for carriages.

Note C, page 261.

Shoals extend for a great distance from the islands at the entrance of Miramichi. I have some cause to remember them. After crossing the province from Fredericton to Chatham, I went on board a coasting schooner bound for Pictou, the master of which engaged to land me on Prince Edward Island. The night was dark. It blew a gale; yet the master incautiously ventured to pass through an intricate channel among the shoals. The vessel struck, and beat for some distance over, and at last bedded in the sands, at a great distance from the shore, and there we lay for three days and nights, until a man, who contrived to gain the shore, travelled by a circuit-

ous route forty miles, to Chatham, from whence a vessel was dispatched to take us off.

There were several passengers, among whom were two ladies, a clergyman's wife, and a young lady, daughter of Dr MacCulloch of Pictou. The people of the vessel were awkward, and not cleanly. We were not prepared for such a disaster; and a friend of mine, Mr Noble of Halifax, who was on board, and I, had to officiate as cooks for the ladies and ourselves. We contrived to stew mutton and potatoes so as to be very palatable, considering our situation.

Note D, page 313.

The following extracts from the reports of the New Brunswick Agricultural Society, may be interesting in respect to the cultivation of the soil in that province:—

"It is most gratifying to the society, at this early stage of its progress, to announce that the operations of this, and of the several county agricultural associations, have tended powerfully, though silently, to the advancement of agriculture, not only with regard to the cultivation of the soil, but also with respect to the improvement of the breed of our domestic animals. To give additional facilities to the former, the central society have imported implements to a large amount; and, to promote the latter, they imported from England, in the course of last summer, a strong and beautiful horse, and sixteen of the Dishley or Leicestershire sheep. Measures were taken to introduce the sheep and implements of husbandry into various parts of the province; and the horse will probably soon be offered for sale at public auction, in order that the inhabitants of all parts of the province may have a fair and equal chance of competing for so valuable an animal.

"Mr Nicholas Cunliffe, of Woodstock, commenced clearing his farm in May 1824. The work was done by contract, at the rate of from L.3, 10s. to L.4 per acre. He has now one hundred and seven acres of land cleared, excepting of the stumps of the trees, (seventy-four acres were cleared since May last;) and the crop raised from this land, last season, was nine hundred bushels of good clean wheat, weighing sixty-three pounds to the bushel, four hun-

dred bushels of Indian corn, nearly one thousand bushels of potatoes, besides a quantity of beans and garden stuff, of which no particular account was kept. This crop alone will leave a profit of about L.100 over and above the expense of clearing the whole of the land.

" Mr Joseph Bedell commenced clearing his farm at Richmond, in the parish of Woodstock, about four miles from the River St John, in May 1821. Without any other assistance than that of his three sons, (the oldest of whom is now about sixteen, the next twelve years of age, and the other still younger,) he has cleared fifty acres of land, from which he raised, last season, two hundred and forty bushels of wheat, two hundred and fifty bushels of oats, fifty bushels of buck wheat, six hundred bushels of potatoes, one hundred and fifty bushels of turnips, and a small quantity of Indian corn. He has paid L.110 since he went on the farm, is now clear of debt, and owns four cows, one pair of horses, eight head of young cattle, twelve sheep, and eight hundred acres of good land."

Extract from the report of the Agricultural Society of the county of Sunbury.

" It is also mentioned that, from one acre, Mr Upton raised eighty-four and a half bushels of Indian corn ; and that, from the same quantity of land, Mr Miles raised thirty-four bushels of wheat ; and the report concludes by stating that the Southdown sheep could not now be purchased for three times the price for which they were sold in 1826, so superior are they and their lambs to the native breed.

" It is no wonder that, in a new country, whose first inhabitants (many of whom are yet living) had to struggle for existence in what was, a few years ago, a gloomy wilderness, and where the fisheries, and the manufacture of timber, have always employed so considerable a portion of its population, the more improved modes of farming have but in a few instances been practised. Enough, however, has been done to dispel those clouds of uncertainty that, until of late, had dimmed the prospects of the agriculturists. The goodness of Providence has cast our lot in a highly-favoured land ; and all that is requisite on our parts to secure increasing and durable prosperity, is the general adoption of that industry, of which, in

various parts of the province, there are many honourable examples, and that industry differently and more judiciously applied.

" In this country the farmer pays no rent, and the taxes are so light as to be scarcely worth mentioning: the English farmer pays high rent and taxes, and (as has often been observed) he is well enabled to do so, by adopting machinery of an improved construction; by judiciously attending to the accumulation of manures, and to the prevention of their waste; by applying them properly; by raising extensive root crops for his cattle; by forcing the soil to its full capability of bearing; in short, by embracing, in every department of husbandry, an admirable system of order, neatness, and economy.

" Not only the farmers in this province, but, in general, those of the northern parts of America, enjoy advantages at present, which neither they nor their predecessors formerly possessed."

Extract from the proceedings of a meeting of the Central Committee of the New Brunswick Agricultural and Emigrant Society, holden at the Province Hall, on Tuesday the 17th April, 1827.

" Captain Douglas informed the meeting that his excellency the lieutenant-governor had received the sanction of his majesty's government to present to this society the sum of two hundred pounds, from the casual revenue, which sum his excellency desires may be appropriated to the importation of stock for improving the breed of domestic animals in this province, which are to be sold as soon as may be proper after their arrival, and the proceeds of the sale (made up, out of the funds of the society, to the full cost, including freight and all charges) to be reinvested in the purchase of other stock, which are likewise to be disposed of for the same purpose, in such place or places as may be most likely to diffuse the benefits of those importations as widely as possible throughout the province. The several importations of stock, made with this and the other donations presented by his excellency, are thus to be sold annually,—the loss on the transaction, if any, to be made up by the society, and the operation to be continued until the province shall be sufficiently supplied with stock of the most improved and valuable breed."

BOOK III.

CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

Discovery and History—Jacques Cartier—Champlain founds Quebec—War with the Indians—Company of New France—Recollet Friars—Quebec taken by the English—Restored to France—Mission of Sillery—Jesuits' College at Quebec founded—Hôtel-Dieu—Convent of St Ursula—Death of Champlain—Order of St Sulpicius found an Establishment at Montreal—Hostilities of the Iroquois—Introduction of Brandy among the Savages—A Bishop arrives at Quebec, and a Seminary founded—Sisters of the Congregation—Tremendous Earthquake.

CANADA is said to have been first discovered by the Spaniards; who, not finding any of the precious metals which formed the grand object of all their discoveries and conquests, abandoned any claim to a country which only appeared to afford the means of living by the cultivation of its soil.*

* It appears, however, that the Kings of Spain and Portugal both complained of the French King "treading in their footsteps by sending Cartier to Canada;" and Francis I. is said to have exclaimed, "What! shall they quietly divide America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article of Adam's will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them."

MAP OF THE
RIVER ST. LAURENCE
AND TRIBUTARIES
EXHIBITING THE SIGNEURIES &c.
From QUEBEC to the
BOUNDARY of UPPER CANADA
FOR
Mc GREGOR'S BRITISH AMERICA

DISTRICT OF QUEBEC
DISTRICT OF TROIS RIVIERES
DISTRICT OF MONTREAL
Co. of DORCHESTER
Co. of MASKINONGE
Co. of ST. MAURICE
Co. of ENGLISH RIVER
Co. of THREE RIVERS
Boundary of the District of Trois Rivieres
Boundary of the District of Montreal
Boundary
Seigniory of Grand River
Lake St. Peter
Lake St. Francis
Lake Champlain
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Lake Huron
Lake Superior
Lake of the Two Mountains
Lake Memphremagog
Lake Temiscaming
Lake Nipissing
Lake Simcoe
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Michigan
Lake Champlain
Lake George
Lake Champlain

When the French afterwards visited this part of America, the Indians repeated so frequently the words "Aca nada," *here is nothing*, (which they are said to have heard the Spaniards exclaim,) that Cartier imagined them to mean the name of the country; and to this circumstance is usually attributed the origin of the appellation Canada, by which it has been designated since that period, although it bore also for some time, in common with the adjacent territories, the general name of New France.

Jacques Cartier was a master mariner of St Maloes. He was intrusted, at the recommendation of Chabot, Admiral of France, with a commission of discovery, for the purpose of establishing a colony in America, and he sailed from St Maloes on the 20th of April, 1534, with two vessels; neither of which were more than twenty tons burden. He arrived at Newfoundland, near Cape Bonavista, on the 10th of May, and then traversed the coast to the south, landing at a harbour which he named St Catherine. Proceeding west and northward, he entered the Gulf of St Lawrence, and passed in sight of Birds' Islands, which he named "Isles aux Oiseaux." After sailing for some days along the western coast of Newfoundland, he crossed the gulf, and entered a large deep inlet, which he named Bay de Chaleur, on account of the intense summer heat which he experienced while exploring its shores. This bay was previously, it appears, known to the Spaniards, and in very old charts it is termed Bay des Espagnols. After exploring the greater part of the gulf, he returned towards France

on the 15th of August, and arrived at St Maloes in twenty-one days.

On the following year, in consequence of the favourable report he gave of his voyage, he was invested with the command of three ships of superior size, and well equipped with all sorts of necessaries. On board the largest of these, " La Grande Hermoine," he embarked on the 19th of May, and on the 26th of July he was joined by the other vessels, which had been separated from him during a storm, at an appointed place of rendezvous within the Gulf of St Lawrence. They then proceeded together on their course up the great River St Lawrence, so named, according to some, from Cartier having either returned to the gulf on the 10th of August, the festival of St Laurente, or his having called a cape on the coast of Cape Breton, at the entrance of the gulf, by the name of the Cape St Laurente, which was afterwards given to the Gulf and River of Canada. There appears, however, some uncertainty in the account transmitted us on this subject. He named the Island of Anticosti, Assumption, an appellation which it did not long retain. On the 1st of August he was driven into a harbour on the north coast, which still retains the name of St Nicholas, which he gave it. He then proceeded up the River St Lawrence until he entered the Saghunny, from which he continued his course, passing the islands which he named Isle aux Coudres, and Isle de Bacchus, now Orleans. He then proceeded in the Hermoine until his ship grounded on the shoals of Lake St Peter, from whence,

in two boats, he explored the river to the island on which Montreal now stands, and which was at that time inhabited by a tribe of the Huron nation, who lived in a village called Hochelaga. The river was then designated the Great Hochelaga, and afterwards, before it acquired that of St Lawrence, the River of Canada. Cartier was received by the natives with great kindness and hospitality.

He returned from the village of Hochelaga on the 5th of October, and on the 11th he arrived at a river that still bears his name, but which he named the St Croix. Here he wintered, and during the inclemency of that season, he and his crew were subjected to a violent attack of scurvy, which the natives taught them to cure by means of a decoction prepared of the bark of the species of fir, (*Pinus balsamifera,*) which yields the Canada balsam of our pharmacopœia. He returned next summer to France ; but notwithstanding the favourable and unexaggerated account he gave of the countries he explored, four years elapsed before any further attempt was made to prosecute his discoveries.

In January 1540, Francois de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, received a patent from Francis I., declaring him Seigneur of Norembegue, (the name by which nearly all North America was then designated,) Viceroy and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Hochelaga, (Isle of Montreal,) Saguenay, (the harbour of Tadousac and country on the River Saghunny,) Terre Neuf, (Newfoundland,) Belle Isle, (an island in the strait that separates Newfoundland from Labrador,)

Carpon, (near Cape St John, still named Quirpon,) Labrador, Le Grande Bay, (Bay de Chaleur,) and Baccalieu, (the coast about, and south of Bonavista, in Newfoundland,)* with all the power and authority possessed by the king over those places.

Early in the summer of 1540, Roberval, with a squadron of five vessels, sailed for America, Jacques Cartier having the supreme naval command. This voyage was successful, and a fort was erected on some part of those coasts, but whether in Cape Breton or in Canada, appears quite uncertain. It was, however, injudiciously selected; the spot was much exposed both to the cold and to the incursions of the natives. Cartier was left at this station as commandant; but he was so harassed by the Indians, who were offended at strangers taking unceremonious possession of a hold in their country, and having despaired of the return of M. Roberval, that he embarked with all his people in order to return to France.

On the banks of Newfoundland he met M. de Roberval with some vessels, carrying men, arms, and provisions; and returning with him, reassumed the command of the garrison. M. de Roberval then sailed up the St Lawrence, and landed at Tadousac, at the *débouché* of the Saghunny. He made also some attempts, of which we have no very authentic accounts, to explore Labrador; but for some time after this period Newfoundland was not known to be an

* Newfoundland was often called Baccalieu, or the place of cod-fish. An isle, at the north point of Conception Bay, still retains the name of "Baccalieu."

island. We have no information on which we can rely, as to what occurred for some years afterwards, when we find Cartier* embarking again for America under the Viceroy Roberval, and with the brother of the latter, a personage whose martial reputation was so brilliant, that the chivalrous Francis always designated him the Gen d'arme d'Annibal. Fate decreed that this voyage should be sealed by calamity. After leaving France, the slightest information respecting this spirited expedition has never been traced; and for more than sixty years, American colonization and the glory of discovery seem to have been forgotten or disregarded by the Gallic government. The disastrous attempt of the Marquis de la Roche, in 1598, I have noticed in a former chapter, and also, in the history of Nova Scotia, the departure of M. Pontgrave, the associate of M. de Monts, from Acadia, to trade at Tadousac. M. de Chauvin had previously made two voyages, in 1600 and 1601, to Tadousac, and returned to France with valuable cargoes of furs. He died soon after.

M. Pontgrave, who was at first an intelligent merchant in a house at St Maloes, and afterwards an expert navigator, who made several voyages to Acadia and Canada, succeeded, along with M. Chatte, Governor of Dieppe, who had procured a charter with all the privileges of that formerly granted to M. la Roche, in forming a company of merchants at Rouen, for

* Some accounts state that Cartier did not accompany this voyage, having died previously, heart-broken from disappointment.

prosecuting, under the king's commission, discoveries, and establishing settlements on the River of Canada. The celebrated navigator, Champlain, being associated with them, accompanied Pontgrave, in 1603, to Tadousac, from whence he sailed up the river as far as Hochelaga, which he found nearly deserted, and to the Falls of St Louis, now called the Rapids of Lachine. He then returned to Acadia, and afterwards, on an exploring expedition within the Gulf of St Lawrence, was nearly lost on Cape Breton, at Cape Mabou, a name corrupted from what he termed it, "Mal-bau." He wintered at Justau-Corps, now named Port Hood.

The spirit that actuated the company of which Champlain was an associate, was exclusively governed by the gains attendant on the peltry trade, to which all other considerations were immolated. Champlain, however, inherited from nature a mind, the calibre of which extended far beyond the mere collection of peltry; and to his enterprising spirit and superior judgment does Canada owe the founding of Quebec, on a spot, the choice of which, for the capital of a great Transatlantic empire, does him immortal honour.

On the 13th of July, 1608, he fixed on a most commanding promontory on the north side of the River St Lawrence for the site of his settlement, the name of which is said to have originated from its very peculiar and striking appearance, when it first burst into view on sailing up the St Lawrence, occasioning a mariner, who was stationed on the fore-top of the Hermoine, to shout loudly to those on

deck, the words Quel-bec.* Here he left a few settlers; and on returning next year with Pontgrave to Canada, he found his embryo colony in quiet possession of their establishment, and clearing and cultivating the soil with tolerable success.

At this period, the Algonquins, who inhabited the adjacent country, and the Montagnez, (Mountaineers,) who occupied the hilly grounds and the banks of the Saghunny, together with the Hurons of the upper country, were in alliance as the common enemy of the powerful Iroquois nation.

Champlain, by joining those tribes in their wars against the Iroquois, committed a fatal error, which exposed the French settlements in Canada to all the calamities of savage warfare for nearly a hundred years; and the introduction of fire-arms, first among the Algonquins, and afterwards among the other Indian nations, was turned to the most terrible account for more than a century against the European settlements.

Champlain explored the Ottawa, and many other parts of the country, before he returned to France, where he succeeded in forming, under the patronage of the Prince of Condé, who assumed the title of Viceroy of New France, a new association at Rouen.

He returned to Canada in 1612, taking with him four Recollets, for the purpose of converting the savages. The war with the Iroquois seems principally to occupy the next eight years; and in 1620 Cham-

* More likely from the Algonquin word Quilibek, which answers to its appearance and position.

plain brought his family to Canada. The Prince of Condé surrendered his viceroyalty this year to the Marshal de Montmorency, who continued Champlain as his lieutenant.

Two years after, the Duke de Ventadour, having entered into holy orders, took charge, as viceroy, of the affairs of New France, solely with the view of converting the savages ; and for this purpose he sent some Jesuits to Canada, to the great mortification of the Recollets.

A number of Calvinists, associated with their leader the Sieur de Caen, were at this period actively engaged in the fur trade ; and the jealousies and bickerings maintained between them and the Catholics, arising in reality from the spirit of trade, but attributed, as usual, to religious scruples, greatly retarded the prosperity of the French settlements.

The Cardinal de Richelieu endeavoured to put an end to these causes of dissension, by establishing the Company of New France. This company, consisting of one hundred associates, engaged to send three hundred tradesmen to New France, and to supply all those whom they settled in the country with lodging, food, clothing, and implements, for three years, after which period they would allow each workman sufficient land to support him, with the grain necessary for seed. The company also engaged to have 6000 French inhabitants settled in the countries included in their charter before the year 1643, and to establish three priests in each settlement, whom they were bound to provide with every article neces-

sary for their personal comfort, as well as the expenses attending their ministerial labours, for fifteen years ; after which cleared lands were to be granted by the company to the clergy for maintaining the Catholic church in New France.

The prerogatives which the king reserved to himself, were the supremacy in matters of faith ; homage, as sovereign of New France, with the acknowledgment of a crown of gold, weighing eight marks, on each succession to the throne of France ; the nomination of all commanders and officers of forts ; and the appointment of the officers of justice, whenever it became necessary to establish courts of law.

The royal charter then granted to the company of New France and their successors for ever, in consideration of their engagements to the crown, the fort and settlement of Quebec, all the territory of New France, including Florida, with all the countries along the course of the great River of Canada, and all the other rivers which discharge themselves thereinto, or which throughout those vast regions empty themselves into the sea, both on the eastern and western coasts of the continent, with all the harbours, islands, mines, and rights of fishery.

The company were further empowered to confer titles of distinction, which however required, in the creation of marquisates, earldoms, baronies, and counties, the confirmation of the sovereign, on the recommendation of the Cardinal de Richelieu, superintendent-in-chief of the navigation and commerce of New France. The exclusive right of traffic in peltries

and all other commerce for fifteen years, with the exception of the right to fish for cod and whales, was also granted to the company.

Two ships of war were presented to the company by the king, the value of which was to be refunded, if the company failed in sending at least fifteen hundred French inhabitants of both sexes to New France during the first ten years.

The descendants of Frenchmen inhabiting Canada, and savages who should be converted to the Catholic faith, were also to be reputed as natural born Frenchmen, and to enjoy the same privileges in France ; and all artificers who were sent by the company to New France, and spent six years there, were permitted, if so inclined, to return to their native country, and to establish themselves in any trading town in France.

Such were the principal immunities and provisions of this celebrated charter; it was signed in April 1627, and created the greatest and most flattering expectations. The administration under a viceroy being omitted, the company continued M. Champlain as Governor of Canada ; but untoward circumstances, particularly the capture of the first ships, sent from France with stores, by Sir David Kirke, reduced the colony to great distress. He even appeared with his squadron before Quebec; and might easily, had he known the famished condition of the garrison, have compelled it to surrender. The prosperity of New France was not only retarded, but even the powerful mind of Champlain, so fertile in expedients on occasions of difficulty, was subjected to the most vexa-

tious mortifications by various unfortunate circumstances.

The hostilities of the savages were not the least of the evils that perplexed him; and the Iroquois soon perceived the advantages which the continued jealousies and quarrels between the Catholics and Huguenots enabled them to obtain over men whom they considered unwarrantable occupiers of their country.

In 1629, at a period when Champlain was reduced to the utmost extremity, by the want of every article of food, clothing, implements, or ammunition, and exposed to the incessant attacks of the Iroquois, Sir David Kirke, commanding an English squadron, appeared again before Quebec. The deplorable situation of the colony, and the very honourable terms of capitulation proposed by him, induced Champlain to surrender the fortress of Quebec, with all Canada, to the crown of England. Kirke's generosity to the colonists, induced most of them to remain; but in 1632, three years afterwards, Canada, with Acadia, was restored, by the treaty of St Germain's, to France.

On the following year, Champlain, who was most justly re-appointed governor, sailed with a squadron, carrying all necessary supplies, to Canada, where he found, on his arrival, most of his former colonists.

The affairs of New France now assumed a more prosperous aspect; and means were adopted for maintaining all practicable harmony among the inhabitants, and preventing, as far as possible, those religious disturbances which had previously convulsed the colony. The company was taught, by former

experience, that their indiscriminate acceptation of all who presented themselves as adventurers ready to embark for New France, constituted the leading cause of disorderly conduct and unsteady habits among the colonists; and it was therefore determined, that in future none but men and women of unexceptionable character should be sent to New France.

In 1635, the Marquis de Gamache, who had, some years before, joined the society of the Jesuits, commanded the establishment of a college of their order at Quebec; and we must acknowledge that this institution was, for the time, very useful in maintaining order, and preserving or inculcating morality, among the colonists.

The death of Champlain, which happened this year, was a grievous misfortune to Canada. In establishing and maintaining the colony, he surmounted difficulties that few men would have had courage to encounter, and under which thousands of men, with minds even above the common standard, would have succumbed. The splendour of his views, which enabled him to perceive, and the soundness of his judgment, which led him to conclude, that a region possessing such advantages as Canada, must, in the common course of events, become a great empire, stimulated and supported him in prosecuting, with undaunted perseverance, the vast undertaking in which he engaged. During the greater part of his active life, the sole object of his heart was to become the founder of a colony which, he felt confident, would eventually attain to a summit of extraordinary power and gran-

deur. His anticipations have, since that period, been realized beyond those of most men who have spent their lives, like him, in great undertakings.

After his death, however, although the governor, M. de Montmagny, entered into the views of his predecessor, yet, wanting the experience, the scientific and professional abilities, and probably the same regard from the inhabitants, the improvements of the colony sickened, and the fur trade alone seems to have been followed with any spirit.

The ardent spirit of enthusiasm, which went forth during that age, to accomplish the conversion of the aborigines of America, led to the establishment of religious institutions in Canada; and although these establishments did little for the immediate improvement of the colony, yet, as points of possession occupied by persons whose avocations were professedly holy and useful, they formed the foundation on which arose the superstructure of those morals and habits that still, and will long, characterise the Gallo-Canadians. The conduct of the nuns was, however, highly reprobated in the following century.

In 1636, a little after the College of the Jesuits was commenced, an institution for instructing the Indians was established at Sillery, a few miles above Quebec; and two years after, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, under whose patronage the Hôtel-Dieu was founded, sent three nuns from Dieppe to superintend its services. About the same time, Madame de la Peltrie, a young widow of rank, engaged several sisters of the Ursulines at Tours, with whom, in a vessel hired at her

own expense, she sailed from Dieppe for Quebec, where she arrived after a tedious passage, and founded the convent of St Ursula.

The order of St Sulpicius, instituted by the Abbé Olivier, sent a mission this year to Canada; and a situation was chosen at Montreal for a seminary, which was consecrated with great ceremony and solemnity by the superior of the Jesuits, and for the maintenance of which, the whole Island of Montreal was granted by the king.

The company of New France, who fulfilled none of the stipulations of their charter, and who also found means to prevent the complaints of the inhabitants being heard or listened to by the ministers of the crown, did nothing towards settling or cultivating the country; and the forts which they erected at Richelieu, and other places, were merely posts of defence, or storehouses for carrying on the fur trade. The habits of those employed in the service of the company, were also described as generally licentious, with characters stamped with infamy. From among those men arose the race of vagabonds, known since that period by the name of *Coureurs du Bois*. Under such management, Canada languished for several years, while the Iroquois, with more experience in war, continued to harass the colony with unabated ferocity.

The settlement at Montreal, which was very much exposed to the ravages of the Iroquois, suffered severely, and its extinction was only prevented by the arrival of M. d'Aillebout, in 1647, from France, with a

reinforcement of 100 men. Marguerite Bourgeois, who accompanied him, founded, at the same time, the institution of the Daughters of the Congregation.

In 1658, the Marquis d'Argenson arrived in Canada with the commission of governor-general; and, in the following summer, Laval, Abbé de Montigny, and titular Bishop of Petrie, landed at Quebec, with a brief from the pope constituting him apostolic vicar. Curacies were at the same time established in Canada. The condition of the colony, at this period, appears, however, to have been truly wretched. Its defence and support was completely neglected by the Company of New France, the associates of which, reduced to forty in number, at last gave up even the fur trade, for the seignorial acknowledgment of 1000 beaver skins.

The Iroquois, who had spread terrible destruction among their old enemies, the Hurons and Algonquins, seemed also determined at this time to exterminate the French, and several hundreds of their warriors kept Quebec in a state little short of actual blockade, while another band massacred a great number of the settlers at Montreal.

The governor, who complained of ill health, requested his recall, and, in 1661, he was relieved by the Baron d'Avangour, an officer of great integrity and resolution, but considered too inflexible for the situation he held. His decisive measures appear, however, to have saved Canada, the defenceless state of which, and the natural beauty and importance of the

country, he stated in such forcible language to the king, who was previously ignorant of its value or condition, that he immediately ordered 400 troops, with all necessary supplies, to Canada, accompanied by a special commission. Their arrival gave life and confidence to the colonists, who were then for the first time enabled to cultivate the soil with any security.

A tremendous earthquake, which appears to have agitated the whole of Canada, and a vast extent of the adjacent countries, in the year 1663, is described by the French writers* of that time, as accompanied by the most violent phenomena, rendered more than usually terrific by the continuation of the shocks at intervals, for nearly six months.

About the same time, on the evening of the 5th of February, a loud rumbling noise, seemingly occasioned by the detonation of the atmosphere, was heard throughout the whole of those regions. The terrified inhabitants, having never heard of an earthquake in the country, at first conceived their houses on fire, and immediately flew out of doors, when their astonishment was increased by the violent agitation of the earth, and every thing on its surface. The walls shook, the bells of the churches rang, and the doors flew open and closed again of themselves. The forest trees were seen all in violent motion, some thrown up from the roots, then with their tops bending nearly to the ground, first to one side, then to the other, or

* More particularly in the Journals of the Jesuits.

laid prostrate on the surface, from which again they were thrown up into the air. The ice, which covered the lakes and rivers, in many places some feet thick, was broken open, and frequently thrown, with rocks and mud from the bottom, up into the air. Clouds of dust obscured the sky. The waters were impregnated with sulphur, exhibiting yellow or reddish colours. From Tadousac to Quebec, about 130 miles, the St Lawrence appeared white and thickly impregnated with sulphureous matter.

The convulsion of elements produced the most awful and incessant sounds, roaring at one time like the sea, then reverberating like the rolling of thunder, and again, as if mountains were bursting, and the rocks which composed them cracking and rolling over each other.

The darkness was rendered still more awful by the frequent flashes of lightning, or by the lamentations of the women, the cries of children, and the howling of dogs and other animals.

Walrusses and porpoises were said to have been seen as far up the St Lawrence as Three Rivers, where they never appeared before, as if equally terrified with the inhabitants of the land; the former howling in the piteous manner so peculiar to them.

The first shock continued, without intermission, for about half an hour, which was followed about eight o'clock by a second equally violent. Thirty shocks were numbered during the night, and the whole country continued to be violently agitated at intervals until the end of July.

From all the accounts transmitted to us, it appears wonderful that no human lives were lost during this extraordinary convulsion ; nor does it appear that any change was caused in the configuration of the countries said to be so long and violently disturbed by the power of its action. The River St Lawrence and its tributaries, the Islands Saghunny and Quebec, Lakes St Peter and Champlain, Montreal, and the Rapids of St Louis, or La Chine, are apparently at this day exactly in the same position as when discovered by Cartier and Champlain.

CHAPTER II.

Company of New France surrender their Charter—Canada placed under the Government of the Company of the West Indies—Wars with the Iroquois —Discovery of the Mississippi—Church of Quebec—Attempts to convert the Savages—Clergy—Administration of the Laws—Calamities of the Indians from the ravages of the Smallpox—Hostilities between the English and French Colonists.

THE Company of New France, who had all along mismanaged the affairs of Canada, and who even lost the vast profits of its trade by neglecting, from ill-timed avarice, to provide for the exigencies of the colony, at length surrendered their charter to the king, the powers and immunities of which were transferred, in 1664, to the Company of the West Indies.

The administration of the colony, without a constitution or courts of justice, was wretchedly managed after the death of Champlain. The governor, the Jesuits, and the bishop, appear to have been equally anxious to supplant each other in power. The Baron d'Avangour, just in his views, but at the same time inflexible in his decisions, was recalled at his own request, and M. de Mesey, who was recommended by the bishop, succeeded him as the first governor under the Company of the West Indies. This officer quar-

relled soon afterwards with the bishop, who, with many good qualities, appears to have been a very arbitrary ecclesiastic. A council, composed of the governor-general, intendant-general, the bishop, and some others, removable at the will of the governor, was established about this time; before which, affairs were sometimes settled by a kind of court, at which presided the superior of the Jesuits, as Grand Seneschal of New France.

The complaints of the bishop and others against M. de Mesey the governor, induced M. Colbert to recall him; and the Marquis de Tracy, who had been for some time before Viceroy of America, arrived in Canada from the West Indies, in June 1665, with some companies of the regiment of Carignan; the remainder of which, with their colonel, M. de Salierres, arrived soon after from France. Three forts were then erected on the River Richelieu, by which the Iroquois descended on their expeditions against the French. The first fort was built where the old one stood, (now William Henry,) and M. de Sorel, who was left there as commandant, superintended its structure, and transmitted his name not only to the fort, but to the river. The second was erected by M. de Chambly, at a place still bearing his name; and a third, further up, by M. de Salierres, which he named St Therese. These garrisons kept the Iroquois for some time in awe; but they soon recommenced their depredations with greater fury than ever, by other routes; and it required all the vigilance of M. de Tracy to preserve the settlements from destruction.

Before this officer returned to France, he placed the country in a state of defence, which enabled it for some time to enjoy profound peace; and having established the Company of the West Indies in all the rights possessed by the Company of New France, he left M. de Courcelles governor-general, with several officers of great abilities under his command.

From this period (1668) we find the affairs of Canada so far prosperous, that little apprehension was entertained as to the colony being established on a permanent foundation, although the ferocity of the savages left no grounds for expecting a cessation of hostilities for any definite period. Several of the officers who received grants of lands about this time, with the rights of seigneurs, settled with their families in Canada, and many of the private soldiers whom they commanded were also settled among the other colonists, who were all equally ready to take up arms whenever the incursions of the savages rendered it necessary to defend the country. The French government, at the same time, sent 300 women of loose character to Canada, who, in less than fifteen days after their arrival, were all disposed of in marriage among the inhabitants, on which occasion considerable presents were made them. To all parents, who had ten children lawfully begotten, pensions were also given.

In 1670, the Church of Quebec was constituted a bishopric. The mission of Lorrette, near Quebec, was also established about the same time; and some important measures were adopted for the better

government of the country, and for maintaining peace with the savages; and, while the trade and agriculture of the colony were prospering during this interval of peace, the clerical orders became more enthusiastic than ever in their efforts to make proselytes of the Indians.

The fur trade, however, was in a great measure intercepted by a fatal calamity, previously unknown to the inhabitants of the western world. The smallpox, more terrible to the savages than all the firearms of Europe, made its appearance this year among the tribes north of the St Lawrence; and its ravages carried off more than half their number. This contagion, and the use of ardent spirits, probably have since that time destroyed a greater portion of the aborigines of North America than war and all the diseases to which they were previously subjected.

Fort Frontenac was built in 1672, where Kingston now stands, for the purpose of aweing the Indians, by Louis de Baude, Count de Frontenac, for whom, however, the right of ground was obtained with great adroitness by his predecessor, M. de Courcelles, a man of great personal worth, and practical abilities, but neither gifted with the splendid talents, nor blemished with the prejudices or defects, of M. de Frontenac.

M. de Frontenac was by birth of distinguished family, and a lieutenant-general of high reputation in the royal army. His brilliant talents were sometimes obscured by prejudices; but his plans for the aggrandizement of Canada were splendid and just;

and, if his great views had not been thwarted by the jealousy of his enemies, his measures would certainly have soon placed Canada in a condition that would have secured its safety from the depredations of the Indians, as well as insured its rapid settlement and cultivation. He possessed, however, a spirit which could not bear contradiction in the prosecution of his plans, either from the ecclesiastical orders, or from officers of whatever distinction in the colony. He was opposed in his measures, first by the ecclesiastics, and soon after by the intendant-general. Violent dissensions arose between them ; and M. de Frontenac was not a man inclined to execute his plans with indecision, or by withdrawing the orders he had previously given. The intendant-general, M. de Chezneau, having neglected some order, was imprisoned ; the procureur-general was exiled ; the Governor of Montreal was put under arrest ; and the Abbé de Salignac, Fénélon, at that time in Canada superintending the seminary of St Sulpicius at Montreal, was imprisoned under pretence of having preached against M. de Frontenac, and having defended the Governor of Montreal.

The principal point of disagreement between M. de Frontenac and the bishop, arose from a circumstance of very great importance, respecting which the former bishop had quarrelled with the Baron d'Avangour. This was the traffic in brandy, in exchange for furs, with the savages. This spirit was the most fatal article that Europeans ever introduced among the aborigines of America. It pro-

duced evils and misery among the Indians, of the most deplorable description; the consequence of which I will have occasion to relate more particularly in another part of this work. The bishop at last succeeded in obtaining an ordinance of the king, enjoining M. de Frontenac to prohibit the sale of spirits to the Indians, under the most severe penalties.

This was considered as a victory obtained by the ecclesiastics over M. de Frontenac, who, however, notwithstanding the opposition to his government, had powerful friends at court, and retained his office as governor-general until 1682, when he and M. de Chezneau were recalled together.

During the administration of M. de Frontenac and his predecessor M. de Courcelles, the French explored the greater part of Canada; and the savages were taught to regard the colonists with some degree of awe. M. Perrot, an indefatigable traveller, visited all the nations in the vicinity of the great lakes; who shortly afterwards sent deputies to meet the sub-delegate of the Intendant of New France, at the Falls of St Mary; where they finally agreed that he should possess and occupy the place in the name of his sovereign; and a cross was there erected, on which were placed the arms of France.

A tribe of the Hurons, who were converted and guided by Father Marquette, were soon after established at Mackilemakinak; and the Iroquois who were converted, and who separated from the rest of their nation, were settled about the same time on the

south side of the St Lawrence, at the Falls of St Louis, near Montreal.

In 1672, M. Talon, who, during the period he held the office of intendant-general, in which he was succeeded by M. de Chezneau, had extended the authority of France into the most distant parts of Canada, concluded, from the reports of the Indians, that there flowed west of the great lakes a vast river, which some of the savages called Mississippi, and others *Meshashepi;* and the course of which flowed towards the south. He therefore determined not to leave America until he should ascertain the truth of this important information. For this purpose he employed Father Marquette, who had previously travelled over the greater part of Canada, and who was, besides, peculiarly qualified to gain the confidence and esteem of the savages. M. Tonti, a merchant of Quebec, and a man of well-known abilities and experience, was associated with Father Marquette, in order to examine more fully the commercial resources of the countries they should discover. They proceeded to Lake Michigan, ascended the river, which falls into an arm of that lake called Grand Bay, up to near its source; from whence they crossed the country to the River Escousin, which they descended, until it unites with the Mississippi, in latitude 42° 30′. The magnitude and depth of the Mississippi, even at this point, so many thousand miles from its mouth, exceeded the most exaggerated accounts they had received from the Indians. They floated down its stream, which was

deep, smooth, and seldom rapid, in a bark canoe, until they arrived at some villages of the Illinois, a few miles below the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri. The Illinois, who had heard of, but never before seen the French, seemed anxious to form an alliance with them; and they treated Marquette and Joliet with great hospitality.

Leaving the Illinois, they descended the river to Askansas, or about 33° N., when the exhausted state of their stock, and being also convinced that the river disembogued in the Gulf of Mexico, induced them to return. They ascended the Mississippi, to where it receives the Illinois; up which they proceeded, and then crossed the country to Michigan, where they separated; Marquette remaining among the Miamis, while Joliet proceeded to Quebec.

Although the Mississippi was thus discovered by way of Canada, yet the advantages which it held out were neglected for some time, in consequence of the death of Father Marquette, and the return of M. Talon to France.

In 1678, the Sieur de la Sale, accompanied by the Chevalier Tonti, arrived from France. He had previously spent some years in Canada, where he maintained a favourable understanding with M. de Frontenac. The king having granted him the Seigniory of Cataracony, he proceeded there, and rebuilt the fort with stone. He then constructed a vessel, and sailed to Niagara, accompanied by Tonti and Father Hennepin, a Flemish Recollet. Here they remained during the winter, attending to the fur-trade; and,

on the following summer, they built a vessel for navigating Lake Erie. They sailed up that lake, and proceeded afterwards by different routes to Mackilemakinak. Hennepin then proceeded to the Illinois, and La Sale returned to Cataraqui. Hennepin was afterwards dispatched to the Mississippi, which he ascended to the Falls of St Anthony. Three years were spent by La Sale, Tonti, and Father Hennepin, in exploring those extensive regions, and endeavouring to secure the alliance of the savages, and the gains also of the fur-trade. Their sufferings on many occasions were exceedingly severe; and the difficult situations in which they frequently found themselves among the Indian tribes, required extraordinary address and resolution.

On the 2d of February 1682, La Sale, having reached the Mississippi, determined on sailing down to the ocean. On the 4th of March, he reached Askansas, of which he took formal possession; and, on the 9th of April, he arrived at the sea, by one of the mouths by which the Mississippi passes through its delta to the ocean. He returned by the same route to Canada; but, suffering severely from fatigue and sickness, he first sent De Tonti before him, with the news of his discovery.

The vast regions explored by those bold adventurous men, watered by such immense rivers as the Mississippi and its magnificent tributaries, although for some years closely connected with the affairs of New France, do not claim further notice in this work. Their great importance, as a part of the vast

empire which now forms the American Republic, I have already noticed, when treating of the United States.

The peace of Canada still continued to be disturbed by various causes, which readily excited the ferocious spirit of the Iroquois ; and which involved the Hurons, Algonquins, and Abenaquis, in the wars occasioned by their suspicions, or by the jealousies of the French and English colonists.

The French had long supplied the Indians, in exchange for furs, with various articles of European manufacture, particularly coarse red cloth, which the English colonists were enabled to sell at a much cheaper rate ; and there were besides no restrictions on the trade, nor any duty on the furs at New York. The English, also, in order chiefly to engross as great a share as possible of the peltry trade, formed an alliance with the Iroquois ; and, as the scruples of honour were not regarded with much delicacy, by those employed either by the French or English, at their trading posts, whenever their profits were at hazard, fresh difficulties were created among the Indian nations, which were always followed by renewed hostilities on the part of the Iroquois against the French.

Soon after the appointment of M. de la Barre, as successor to M. de Frontenac, the Iroquois assumed such a tone of defiance, and made such formidable preparations, as to cause the greatest apprehension of a general war among the Indians ; and the condition of Canada, at this time, (1683,) was far from that

state of prosperity which it ought to have attained, and which was prevented solely by the mismanagement of an exclusive company, who cared little for the country, so long as they monopolized the fur-trade.

The whole population consisted only of nine thousand inhabitants; and M. de la Barre, to prevent the extermination of the colonists, anticipated the preparations of the Iroquois, by making an expedition to their country, with about 1000 troops, which ended, after his experiencing great hardship, in an unsatisfactory negotiation; but which, in the mean time, gave assurance of peace.

The Marquis Denonville arrived in Canada soon after, with a strong reinforcement, as governor-general. He immediately proceeded to Cataracony, with about 2000 troops, when he soon discovered that the Iroquois had assumed a spirit of defiance; and that all attempts to reconcile or assimilate them to the French were altogether fruitless, and that this tribe alone prevented the conversion of the others. The latter reason, paramount, or at least in that age pretended to be so, to all others, was considered more than sufficient to justify any measure against the Iroquois, whose extinction as a nation seemed determined upon by the governor; and directions were also received, some time before, to send to France all the able-bodied men of that tribe who were made prisoners, as slaves for the galleys.

This order, indefensible under the most aggravated circumstances, was executed with the utmost

baseness and treachery by Denonville, who even employed two missionaries to effect his purpose. These men, particularly the Jesuit De Lamberville, had gained such influence over several of the principal Iroquois chiefs, as to induce them, under various pretences, to meet Denonville at Fort Frontenac, where he immediately seized them, loaded them with irons, and sent them to France, where they were condemned to the galleys.

This act of infamous perfidy stamped eternal dishonour on the French name among the Iroquois; yet did this people, whom we call barbarians, allow Lamberville to depart in peace; and it was this same Jesuit who afterwards induced them to attend to pacific overtures.

The other missionary fell into the hands of the Agniers, who condemned him to the flames, from which he is said to have been saved by a woman who adopted him.

Although M. Denonville received instructions from France, that a treaty was signed at London, by the governments of France and England, stipulating that, whatever difference should arise between them in Europe, their subjects in America should remain in a state of perfect neutrality; and although the governor of New York remonstrated against his building a fort at Niagara, and urged that the Iroquois were the subjects of England, yet he persisted in his imprudent purpose of building a fort there, at a time when the seizure of the Iroquois chiefs, which had renewed the passion of revenge with unexampled

fury among their warriors, formed the greatest obstacle to peace that had occurred since the French first settled in Canada.

The war had only partially commenced, when Fort Frontenac was attacked by the Iroquois, who also burnt all the corn-stacks in the neighbourhood; and 500 of their canoes, which were on Lake Ontario, captured a French bark laden with provisions and stores. The Abenaquis, allies of the French, attacked at the same time the Iroquois of Sorrel, and committed depredations on the English settlements, plundering the property, and scalping several of the inhabitants.

In the meantime the Iroquois acted with great policy; and while they made overtures for negotiation, they were accompanied by preparations not to be disregarded. Deputies, attended by 500 warriors, were sent to treat with M. Denonville; and the lofty tone assumed by their orator, in stating the condition of his nations, and it being known that there were 1200 warriors within a short distance of Montreal, who would immediately fall upon the settlements, set fire to the buildings and corn-fields, and murder the inhabitants, induced the governor to accept the conditions of peace which they proposed, and to send, without any delay, for the Iroquois chiefs who were sent prisoners to France.

The ratification of this treaty was, however, prevented by the political management of a young Huron chief, worthy of the most refined disciple of Machiavel, and conducted with sufficient address

and skill, to rank this savage, in the annals of political intrigue, with the Richelieus or Metterniches of Europe; while his callous disregard to scruples, in seizing the means necessary to accomplish his ends, affords an example of dark resolute perseverance, not surpassed even in the register of the Jesuits.

Kondiaronk, or Le Rat, although not forty years of age, rose, by the power of his eloquence, bravery, skill in hunting, and success in the enterprises he planned and conducted, to be the chief in war, and the first in council among the Hurons. He inherited the most inveterate hatred towards the Iroquois; and their total extermination was, from his youth, the ruling passion of his soul. He hated the French in his heart; but his nation considered their friendship necessary in protecting them against the Iroquois; and he hated the English also, as the allies of the latter, with all the animosity which an Indian heart can cherish; but policy made him conceal his feelings while his people found it more convenient, or more profitable, to sell their furs to the English than to the French traders.

Denonville solicited and pressed his alliance, which Le Rat consented to, upon the sole condition that the war should only terminate by the extinction of the Iroquois nations; and, on this assurance, he soon after left Mackilemakinak, with a chosen band of a hundred warriors, in order to surprise the Iroquois, and to acquire additional fame by some brilliant exploit. He stopped on his way at Fort Frontenac, where he was informed by the commandant, that M.

Denonville had entered into a treaty of peace with the Iroquois nations, whose deputies he daily expected, with hostages to be left at Montreal for its final ratification. Le Rat, who was also told that it was consequently necessary for him and his warriors to return to Mackilemakinak, suppressed the feelings that were maddening in his bosom, and very coolly observed that the request was reasonable. He then left the commandant under the impression that he would return peaceably with his warriors to his own country. Far different, however, was the resolution seized by Le Rat. He considered his whole nation, in not being conferred with in treating with their enemies the Iroquois, insulted by a species of contempt, the most galling to the proud heart of an American Indian; while the brilliant achievements he anticipated on leaving his tribe with the flower of their warriors, were at the same time completely blasted. Conceiving, therefore, that his own fame and the honour of his nation were sacrificed to the interests of the French, he determined upon the most terrible revenge that could be effected by the most deep and fiendish policy. What was said by the courtly Clarendon of Hampden, but without truth in respect to that patriot in the last word of the sentence, may be justly said of Le Rat. "He had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any evil." Instead of returning to Mackilemakinak, he proceeded with his warriors to the cascades, which are about thirty miles above Montreal, and where he knew the Iroquois deputies with

their hostages would pass. Here he remained in ambush for five or six days, when the deputies arrived, accompanied by forty young men, several of whom he killed, and the remainder he made prisoners, as they landed from their canoes. He then told the captives that he was directed by the governor to occupy that position, in order to intercept a party of Iroquois warriors who would attempt to pass by that route to plunder the French settlements, and that he must immediately conduct them as prisoners to Montreal, where there was not the least hope of mercy for them. The deputies, shocked at this intelligence, and their passions already aggravated to fury by recollecting that their chiefs were not yet sent back from France, considered the conduct of M. Denonville, and particularly this last apparent act of infamous perfidy, more horrible than all their imagination attributed to demons. They then related the object of their mission to Le Rat, who feigned astonishment; and, after remaining a short time silent, and seemingly affected with sorrow, assumed a ferocious air and tone, and declaimed with all the ingenuity and force of his eloquence against M. Denonville, whom he charged with having made him the instrument of the most diabolical treachery.

He then released the prisoners, and told them to return and tell their tribes that the governor of the French had made him engage in a deed so horrible and bad, that he should never rest until he had satiated his revenge by the destruction of the French settlements. The Iroquois believed Le Rat, and his

apparent clemency in setting them at liberty so fully persuaded them of his sincerity, that they assured him that the five nations would immediately ratify such terms of peace as they might agree upon. He then gave them fusils, powder, and ball, to defend them on their way back; and, under the pretence of replacing one man whom he had lost in attacking the Iroquois, he retained an Indian of the Chouanan tribe, with whom he returned to Mackilemakinak.

This unfortunate prisoner, who believed himself safe, from Le Rat telling the Iroquois that he would retain him as an adopted son, was delivered to the French commandant, who was still ignorant of the proceedings of M. Denonville; and who, through the statements made by Le Rat, condemned the unhappy wretch to be shot.

Le Rat had an old Iroquois slave for a long time in his possession, to whom he afforded the opportunity of witnessing the execution of his adopted countryman by the French, all the circumstances of which, however, he carefully concealed from him. He then told the Iroquois, "I now give you your liberty; return to your country, and there spend the remainder of your days in peace! Relate to your people the barbarous and unjust conduct of the French, who, while they are amusing your nation with offers of peace, seize every opportunity of betraying and murdering you; and that all my persuasions could not save the life even of one man whom I took from your tribe, and adopted to replace the warrior I lost at the cascades."

The Iroquois returned to his country, and related what he had witnessed, together with all that Le Rat had told him. The Iroquois warriors, as might be anticipated, were even before this sufficiently exasperated; but this last master-stroke of Le Rat's policy made their very blood boil furiously for revenge; yet they dissembled their feelings of resentment so completely, that M. Denonville, who declared that he would hang Le Rat whenever he could be captured, still expected deputies from the Iroquois to ratify a peace.

Le Rat's policy, however, operated more effectually than all the attempts of Denonville; and when the Iroquois arrived at Montreal, where the governor waited for their deputies, their appearance and purpose was indeed far different from what he expected. 1200 warriors, who landed at the upper end of the island, plundered and burnt all the houses and cornfields, destroyed and carried off the cattle, massacred men, women, and children, defeated and cut in pieces nearly the whole of a hundred regular troops, and fifty Hurons who were sent to defend the approach to the town, and carried off about 200 prisoners.

After spreading devastation over the whole island, with the loss only of three warriors, they embarked in their canoes, with their plunder and their prisoners. One of the three warriors lost by the Iroquois was brought before the governor, and declared, that the effect of Le Rat's policy was irreparable; that the Iroquois, far from condemning him, were ready to enter into a treaty with his nation; and that all

the Iroquois tribes were so deeply impressed with a belief in the infamous atrocity of the French, that their thoughts were solely bent on the most deadly revenge.

Their subsequent hostilities fully justified this information; and the devastation of the Island of Montreal was attended by other losses and calamities. The fort, which was erected at much expense and labour at Niagara, was garrisoned by a hundred troops, among whom a malady was introduced, which proved fatal nearly to the whole; and the survivors, finding it impossible to maintain the post, abandoned and demolished it.

It was even found impracticable to maintain the important fort at Frontenac, which was also abandoned and blown up; and two ships that were built for the purpose of navigating Lake Ontario, were burnt, to prevent their falling into the possession of the Iroquois. The same malady which was so fatal to the garrison at Niagara, prevailed at the same time all over Canada; and the affairs of the colony appeared altogether desperate. War, famine, and disease, seemed as if combined for the utter destruction of the French inhabitants.

CHAPTER III.

Perilous condition of Canada—Reappointment of M. Frontenac—War with the Indians—Sir William Phipps attacks Quebec—Hostilities between the English and French Colonists—Conferences with the Indians—Death of Count Frontenac—M. de Vaudreeil—Indian Perfidy—War with the Autagamis—Death of M. de Vaudreeil—M. de Beauharnois—War between France and England, &c.

THE critical condition of Canada, and the war between England and France, imperatively required that the affairs of the colony should be intrusted to a person whose experience and abilities would give energy to the execution of his measures, and whose activity, resolution, and firmness, would command the respect of the Indians, and exact implicit obedience from those under his command.

These qualities in a person to manage, to govern, and preserve a colony with its affairs in a posture like that of Canada, were found to be only combined in the Count de Frontenac. He was accordingly appointed to the chief command, and arrived at Quebec in October 1689, accompanied by the Chevalier de Callieres as intendant, and the Iroquois chiefs who had been sent to France by Denonville.

He found the colony on the utmost verge of ruin; but he expected that the great personal esteem which the Iroquois and other Indian nations entertained for

him, during his former administration, and the confidence which was reposed in him by Ourèharè, one of the Iroquois chiefs whom he brought back, would enable him to bring the five nations to pacific overtures.

He was, however, disappointed. The Iroquois, while they pretended to wish for peace, avoided, with great address, coming to serious negotiations; and they soon renewed their hostilities, by rushing suddenly on the settlements, killing or making prisoners of the inhabitants, and carrying off all the movable property.

M. de Frontenac, finding his attempts at negotiation useless, resolved to act with such determined vigour as eventually to humble the Iroquois confederacy, which alone prevented the French settlements enjoying any certain repose. He therefore collected his allies, divided them among his regular troops; and surprised with great success several of the English settlements, on account of their alliance with the Iroquois.

Detachments which he sent to convey to Montreal the furs stored for a long time at Mackilemakinak, met also with a numerous band of Iroquois warriors, whom they defeated, after a sharp skirmish, in which a great number were killed on both sides.

Although peace could not be secured with the five tribes, yet they were convinced that M. de Frontenac was more to be dreaded than his predecessor; and the other tribes, who were about joining them, declined the alliance.

An expedition, fitted out under the command of Sir W. Phipps, for the conquest of Quebec, appeared in October this year (1690), as far up the river as Tadousac, before its destination for Quebec was known. The defence of the town required all the vigilance of M. de Frontenac, and he certainly lost no time in placing it in a fit condition to stand a siege. The squadron, consisting of thirty-four vessels of different descriptions, and said to have 7000 men on board, advanced as far as Beauport, when Phipps sent a flag of truce to summon the town to surrender, which was gallantly rejected by M. de Frontenac. On the 18th, the English troops disembarked near the River St Charles, but not without great loss by the sharp fire from the French musketry. Four of the largest ships, which anchored opposite the town, commenced a bombardment; but the fire from the batteries was directed with such effect as to compel these vessels to remove up the river, beyond the range of the fortifications. A sharp skirmish between the troops took place next day, in which neither appears to have obtained much advantage; and on the 20th, an action was fought, in which the English at first had the advantage, and pursued the French to the palisades of a large house, at which the latter made a gallant stand, and compelled the English to retreat towards Beauport, from which place they re-embarked two days after, when Sir W. Phipps raised the siege, and sailed with his squadron down the river on the 23d. Seven or eight of his vessels were lost in the Gulf of St Lawrence.

Before he left Boston, it was arranged that a strong body of troops should march against Montreal, in order to create a division in the French forces. This was prevented by the defection of the Iroquois ; and M. de Frontenac was consequently enabled to concentrate all his strength to defend Quebec. This circumstance, the failure of ammunition, and the approaching winter, rendered it expedient for Phipps to abandon the enterprise.

On the following year the Iroquois renewed their depredations.

About 1000 warriors appeared at the mouth of the Ottawa, landed on the island of Montreal at Point au Tremble, pillaged and burnt thirty houses and barns, and carried off several prisoners, whom they put to the most cruel tortures. Depredations and cruelties were also extended to many of the other French settlements ; and various skirmishes took place between the French troops and the Iroquois, in which great numbers on both sides, and several French officers of rank and distinction, were sacrificed. The French at last treated their prisoners with nearly as much cruelty as was practised by the savages ; and M. de Frontenac at length, by the unremitting vigour of his measures, secured the defence of the colony so far, that in 1692 the inhabitants were enabled to cultivate their lands. The commerce in furs, although frequently interrupted, was also renewed, and carried on with considerable advantage.

In 1695, the fort at Frontenac was rebuilt, and

additional security extended to the outposts at Mackilemakinak and St Joseph. In the following year, M. de Frontenac made an expedition to the country of the Iroquois, and without proceeding to such extremities as his force empowered him, he burnt some of their villages, and liberated a number of French prisoners.

He might, it is thought, have completely humbled the Iroquois at this time, but could not be prevailed upon to destroy the canton of Goyoquins, of which Ourèharè was the chief.

A fishery was also begun about this time at Mount Louis, on the south coast of the St Lawrence.

The French suffered little further molestation from the Indians; but animosities still continued between the Algonquins and Iroquois, and frequent hostilities among the other tribes. Ourèharè, in whom M. de Frontenac placed great and deserved confidence, and through whose influence he expected to bring the Iroquois to terms of friendship and permanent peace, died this year at Quebec.

Peace was concluded by England and France in 1698; and the English and French governors entered mutually into arrangements for maintaining harmony with the Indians. Although either English or French would now have crushed for ever the power of the Iroquois, yet the anxieties manifested by each government to conciliate the regard of those savages, were carried to an extent which must have greatly flattered those people, and which gave them an opinion of themselves that nothing but the jealousies of

the English and French could warrant, and of which the savages well knew how to avail themselves.

Soon after the conclusion of an understanding of friendship with the Iroquois, Louis Count de Frontenac died in the seventy-eighth year of his life, twenty of which he had spent in Canada, where his vigorous administration, and his great personal abilities, preserved the colony with little assistance from France, and always secured to him the confidence of the king, the respect of his officers, even of those opposed to many of his measures, and the esteem of the Indians.

He was succeeded by the Chevalier de Callieres, who had been for some years Governor of Montreal, which office was supplied in the person of the Chevalier de Vaudreuil. Some difficulties arose soon after in maintaining a good understanding with the savages, which were principally occasioned by the English governor; but the address of the French missionaries gave M. de Callieres an ascendant, which he held with great tact and able management until his death in 1703. His loss was great to Canada; and although his powers of mind wanted the splendid points that cast such brilliant lustre on the government of M. de Frontenac, yet from his great excellence of character, he was beloved and respected by all; and having never violated his word to the Indians, he always retained their implicit confidence.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was then appointed to the chief command, on account of his great services in Canada; and agreeably also to the unanimous

petition of the inhabitants to the king. The Indian tribes, among whom jealousies were fomented by the English, and by numerous murders among themselves, occasioned much embarrassment in the affairs of Canada during the administration of M. de Vaudreuil. He, however, managed to prevent the colonists from being molested, and the trade and cultivation of the country continued to improve and prosper.

England and France being now, (1709,) however, at war, an expedition was sent from New York, which was joined by a great body of Iroquois and Mahingans. M. de Ramsay, with 1000 regular troops, together with a body of militia and savages, were sent to intercept them; but the want of confidence in this commander, or some jealous feeling entertained by the other officers, rendered the expedition fruitless, and it returned to Montreal with a few prisoners only.

M. de Vaudreuil, however, lost no time in putting Quebec in a proper state of defence, and took every precaution, by strengthening the outposts, to prevent the English entering Canada.

The English were at this time fully confident of success, but the policy of an Iroquois chief not only blasted the hopes they had reasonably entertained, but subjected the army to the most severe distress. While the Iroquois warriors were exulting in the prospect of entirely destroying the French, this crafty leader, to whom they had always listened with respect and deference, said to his people, "Ah! but

I have been considering what will become of us, if we destroy the French, who keep the English in check. The latter will then assuredly crush us, in order to possess our country. Let us not, therefore, foolishly bring certain ruin upon ourselves, merely to indulge our passions, or to please the English. Let us rather leave the French and English in a position which will make either of them set a high value on our friendship." This was their former and favourite system, but as they considered it shameful to desert the English openly, they concluded on effecting their purpose by enveloping their treachery under the most profound secrecy and diabolical cruelty. "The lawless savages," says Raynal, "the religious Hebrews, the wise and warlike Greeks and Romans; in a word, all people, whether civilized or not, have always made what is called the rights of nations to consist in craft or violence."

The English army halted on the banks of a small river, where they encamped and waited for the artillery and ammunition, which were following at a slower rate than the march of the main body of the troops.

The Iroquois, who, in the meantime, spent their leisure hours in hunting, flayed all the animals they killed, and sunk their skins in the river, a little above the English camp. The English, who had no suspicion of the fatal treachery, continued to drink of the poisoned water; and such numbers were carried off in consequence, that it soon became necessary to

suspend all military operations. They were therefore compelled to return to New York, where they learned that the destination of the fleet which was to proceed with troops to besiege Quebec, was changed, and sent to Lisbon to protect Portugal from the Spaniards.

The English colonists soon after renewed their preparations against the French ; and an army, accompanied by some Iroquois, marched towards Canada ; but, meeting with great difficulty, they returned, on receiving information that a second fleet, with the troops intended to besiege Quebec, was dispersed, and eight of the largest vessels lost near Seven Islands Bay.

M. de Vaudreuil had, however, by this time, managed to engage such numerous bodies of Indians, and to fortify Quebec so strongly, while he, at the same time, guarded the advanced posts with such vigilance, that had the fleet and the troops from New York even arrived safely before Quebec, there would have been little risk of France losing Canada, although there would have been, in all probability, great loss of life on both sides. The Treaty of Utrecht, in 1712, gave peace to Canada, and M. de Vaudreuil had now leisure to direct his attention to the local affairs of the province.

A little before this time, a powerful tribe of Indians, called the Autagamis, or the Foxes, were instigated by the Iroquois to besiege Detroit, where they built a fort near that of the French. The

allies of the latter, however, arrived in great numbers, and a furious attack was made upon the fort of the Autagamis. The latter defended themselves with the most extraordinary obstinacy; but, finding that nothing but death awaited their surrender, they contrived to escape from the fort at night, during a snowstorm. They were, however, soon afterwards overtaken, many of them cruelly massacred, and the remainder, amounting to 150 men, women, and children, were distributed among the allies, and nearly all put to death. The loss of the Autagamis amounted to about 1000, and that of the allies to no more than sixty.

The result of this expedition prevented the English from building a fort at Detroit, as they intended, which would have been ruinous to the fur-trade of Canada.

Soon after the Peace of Utrecht, the English built a fort on the banks of Lake Ontario, which secured them a great share of the fur-trade. The French also rebuilt the fort at Niagara, and strengthened their garrison at Detroit, which commanded the great line of intercourse in their dealings with the Indians of the west, as well as the track of communication with Louisiana, the Illinois, and the Mississippi, which was frequently interrupted by the warlike Autagamis, and their allies the Sioux and Chicasaws. M. de Vaudreuil at length brought those savages to pacific overtures; and, as a means of increasing the population of the French settlements, and strengthen-

ing the garrisons, he proposed that 150 of the convicts, which were condemned in France to the galleys, should be annually sent to Canada.

At this period, (1714,) there were no more than 4500 men, from fourteen to sixty years of age, able to bear arms, in all Canada, while the English colonies could raise about 60,000. During the remainder of M. de Vaudreuil's administration, which was terminated by his death, in 1725, the French colonists enjoyed the blessings of peace; and the cultivation and trade of the province prospered under his vigilant, firm, and just government, which for twenty-one years was attended with the approbation of his sovereign, and the esteem and admiration of those under his command.

The Chevalier de Beauharnois, who succeeded to the government, planned an enterprise to cross America to the South Sea, which did not succeed; and he erected also the important fort at Crown Point, with several other forts, in order to keep the English within the Alleghany mountains. During his long administration, the interests of Canada were generally attended to; the colony enjoyed the blessings of peace; some important changes were made in the laws; several church decretals, which clogged industry, and pressed heavily on the people, were repealed; and the conduct of the nuns, which was for some time complained of as irregular, and very different from the vows by which they pretended to regulate their character and habits, was controlled.

In 1745, a royal edict directed that no country-houses should be built but on farms of one acre and a half in front, and by forty back. This law confined the population along the banks of the rivers.

In 1746, the Count de la Galissoniere, a nobleman of great acquirements, succeeded M. de Beauharnois; but, being unable to obtain that assistance in carrying his plans into execution which he expected from France, he was superseded, in 1747, by M. de la Jonquiere; who was also succeeded temporarily by the Baron de Longuiel, until the arrival of the Marquis du Quesne, in 1752, as governor-general. Preparations were made by him immediately after for active warfare against the English colonists, and hostilities were commenced against their traders on the Ohio. The Sieur de Vaudreuil Cavagnal succeeded him in 1755.

The English army, commanded by General Braddock, was repulsed this year; and, on the following year, the Marquis de Montcalm, who had arrived from France, with a strong reinforcement of regular troops, destroyed Fort Oswego, the outworks of Fort George, and the sloops and *bateaux* that were intended to attack Crown Point. Next year, he reduced Fort George; but the victory was disgraced by the massacre of 2000 of its inhabitants by the savages under his command, which completely roused the indignation of the British, and led to those mighty preparations which I have already noticed in the Historical Sketch of Nova Scotia, and which finally destroyed the power of France in America.

The financial affairs of Canada, and the interests of private individuals, were also about this time placed in a most dangerous position, by the profligacy and villainy of M. Bigot, the intendant-general.

CHAPTER IV.

Preparations made by the English for conquering Canada—Forces under General Wolfe land, and ascend the Heights—Battle of the Plains of Abraham—Death of Wolfe—Surrender of Quebec—Death of Montcalm—Surrender of Niagara—Ticonderago—Crown Point and Montreal—The Intendant-General M. Bigot's Fraudulency—Governor Murray's Report—Governor Sir Guy Carleton—Quebec Act—General Montgomery invades Canada—Reduces the Outposts, takes Montreal, besieges Quebec—His Death—The Provincialists repulsed—Lord Dorchester arrives as Governor-General—Quebec Act of 1791—Partition of the Province—Governor Prescott—Governor Milnes—Sir James Craig—Sir George Prevost—Last American War—Bravery of the Canadians—Sir George Gordon Drummond—Sir John Coape Sherbrook—Duke of Richmond—Earl of Dalhousie—Difficulties under his Administration—Sir James Kempt—Lord Aylmer.

SUCH was the condition of Canada when the English, exasperated by the massacre at Fort George, and animated by the surrender of Louisburg, unanimously resolved on subduing all the northern French possessions in America.

It was therefore determined to conquer Canada, by attacking Quebec, Fort Niagara, and the forts at Ticonderago and Crown Point. To the army under General Wolfe, and the fleet under Admiral Saunders, were assigned the conquest of Quebec; to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, the reduction of the forts at Crown Point and Ticonderago; and that of Niagara to General Prideaux, but which

afterwards devolved on Sir William Johnston. The latter expeditions were afterwards to concentrate their forces with those under General Wolfe.

In the month of June 1759, the English fleet reached the Island of Orleans, where Wolfe landed with an army of 8000. The French disposable forces, exclusive of the garrison of Quebec, consisted of about 10,000 men, with a reserve of 2000. Wolfe first attempted the entrenchments at Montmorenci, landing his troops under cover of the fire from the ships of war; but he was gallantly repulsed by the French. After some delay, it was determined to effect a landing so as to carry the Heights of Abraham above Quebec. This daring resolution was effected on the 12th September, with surprising secrecy and intrepidity.

The ships of war sailed nine miles up the river above Quebec to Cape Rouge. This feint deceived M. Bougainville, who, with his division of the French army, proceeded still farther up along the banks of the river, to prevent the British debarking. During the night, the English ships dropped down silently with the current to Wolfe's Cove, and at four o'clock in the morning the troops began to land. At eight, the British army ascended the precipitous heights, with two fieldpieces in front; the 48th regiment and the light infantry forming a reserve, and the royal Americans covering the landing.

The Marquis de Montcalm, who was then at Beauport, marched across the St Charles on the 13th, and imprudently formed in front of the British army,

with only one fieldpiece, and before he could concentrate all his disposable forces. He then advanced most gallantly; but the scattered, quick firing of his troops, which commenced when within about 250 yards of the English line, was far from being so effective as that of the British. The latter moved forward regularly, firing steadily, until within twenty or thirty yards of the enemy, when they gave a general volley, and the French were soon after routed. Bougainville had just then appeared in sight, but the fate of Canada was decreed, the critical moment was gone, and he retired to Point au Tremble, where he encamped; and from thence he retreated to Three Rivers and Montreal. There was also a body of French troops near Beauport, which were not engaged. Had all the forces been concentrated under Montcalm, it is doubtful if the heroism of the British troops could have secured victory. The most extraordinary bravery was displayed both by the English and French. Both armies lost their commanders. Wolfe expired with victory accompanying the close of his splendid career. At the age of thirty-five, when but few men begin even to appear on the theatre of great deeds, inheriting no family pretensions, and unassisted by faction or intrigue, he held a command of the highest responsibility, and with a truly unblemished character fulfilled the most sanguine expectations of his country.

The Marquis de Montcalm, an officer of equal bravery, died of his wounds a few days after. Quebec capitulated on the 18th to General Murray, who

succeeded to the command. He, however, committed a most egregious blunder some time afterwards, by leaving Quebec to attack M. Levi, who was encamped with the French army at Sillery ; and who completely defeated General Murray, and compelled him to retire within the walls of Quebec, with the loss of his artillery, and nearly one-third of his army.

The fort at Niagara was in the meantime reduced by Sir William Johnston, and the forts at Ticonderago and Crown Point, by General Amherst. They were consequently enabled to concentrate their forces and form a junction with General Murray. Previously to this, on learning that the English fleet was in the St Lawrence, and that the armament sent from France to relieve Quebec, was captured in the Bay de Chaleur by a squadron from Louisburg, under Captain Byron, the French forces retreated to Montreal, where the governor-general, M. de Vaudreuil, determined to make a desperate stand. Being, however, invested by the united forces of the three British generals, he found further resistance useless, and capitulated on the 8th of September, 1760, when Montreal and all the French fortresses in Canada were surrendered to Great Britain. The articles of capitulation under which Montreal surrendered, were highly honourable to M. de Vaudreuil, who exacted, to the utmost that he could possibly expect to obtain, every advantage for the people he had previously commanded.

Whatever the officers of government lost by Canada changing sovereigns, the peasantry, and other

industrious classes, gained great advantages. The evils of a debt due the inhabitants by the government of France were, it is true, severely felt. This arose from the fraudulent conduct of M. Bigot, the intendant-general. His peculations, it was found, amounted to at least L.400,000, the greater part of which he lavished on a mistress. His bills on the French Treasury, and orders to the amount of L.3,333,333, 6s. 8d. sterling, were protested. When the Canadians became British subjects, an indemnity was obtained for them of only L.125,400 in bonds, and L.250,000 in specie for this immense debt. The bonds afterwards went for nothing.

The annual expenditure of the government of Canada, in 1729, was L.16,666, 13s. 4d., but it increased, in 1759, to the enormous sum of L.1,083,333, 6s. 8d. sterling.

For some time after the capitulation of Canada, no regard was paid to the French laws or courts. Military tribunals were instituted in the districts, from which appeals might be made to the commanding officer. General Murray carefully guarded against the abuse of power in such absolute courts.

Soon after the peace of 1763, which left to France no part of all her vast territories and power in North America, Governor Murray established new courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, in which the laws of England were introduced, and continued in force until the year 1775.

The following extracts from a letter written in 1765, by Governor Murray, to the Lords of Trade and

Plantations, afford, it is believed, a just account of the state of the province at that period. "It consists," he states, "of 110 parishes, exclusive of the towns of Quebec and Montreal. These parishes contain 9722 houses, and 54,575 Christian souls; they occupy, of arable land, 955,755 arpents. They sowed, in the year 1765, 180,300½ minots of grain, and that year they possessed 12,546 oxen, 22,724 cows, 15,039 young horned cattle, 27,064 sheep, 28,976 swine, and 13,757 horses, as appears by the annexed recapitulation, taken by his order in the year 1765.

"The towns of Quebec and Montreal contain about 14,700 inhabitants. The savages, who are called Roman Catholics, being within the limits of the province, consist of 7400 souls, so that the whole, exclusive of the king's troops, amount to 76,275 souls; of which, in the parishes are nineteen Protestant families; the rest of that persuasion (a few half-pay officers excepted) are traders, mechanics, and publicans, who reside in the lower towns of Quebec and Montreal. Most of them were followers of the army, of mean education, or soldiers disbanded at the reduction of the troops. All have their fortunes to make, and I fear few are solicitous about the means, when the end can be attained. I report them to be, in general, the most immoral collection of men I ever knew: of course, little calculated to make the new subjects enamoured with our laws, religion, and customs; and far less adapted to enforce these laws, which are to govern.

"On the other hand, the Canadians, accustomed to arbitrary, and a sort of military government, are a frugal, industrious, and moral race of men, who, from the just and mild treatment they met with from his Majesty's military officers, who ruled the country for four years, until the establishment of civil government, had greatly got the better of the natural antipathy they had to their conquerors.

"They consist of a noblesse, who are numerous, and who pique themselves much upon the antiquity of their families, their own military glory, and that of their ancestors. These noblesse are seigneurs of the whole country, and though not rich, are in a situation, in that plentiful part of the world, where money is scarce, and luxury still unknown, to support their dignity. Their tenants, who pay only an annual quitrent of about a dollar for one hundred acres, are at their ease, and comfortable. They have been accustomed to respect and obey their noblesse; their tenures being military in the feudal manner, they have shared with them the dangers of the field, and natural affection has been increased, in proportion to the calamities which have been common to both from the conquest of this country.

"As they have been taught to respect their superiors, and are not yet intoxicated with the abuse of liberty, they are shocked at the insults which their noblesse and the king's officers have received from the English traders and lawyers, since the civil government took place. It is natural to suppose they are zealous of their religion. They are very ignorant: it was the

policy of the French government to keep them so: few or none can read. Printing was never permitted in Canada till we got possession of it. Their veneration for the priesthood is in proportion to their ignorance: it will probably decrease as they become enlightened, for the clergy there are of mean birth and very illiterate; and as they are now debarred from supplies of ecclesiastics from France, that order of men will become more and more contemptible, provided they are not exposed to persecution.

"Disorders and divisions, from the nature of things, could not be avoided in attempting to establish the civil government in Canada, agreeable to my instructions, while the same troops, who conquered and governed the country for four years, remained in it. They were commanded by an officer, who, by the civil establishment, had been deprived of the government of half the province, and who remained, in every respect, independent of that establishment. Magistrates were to be made, and juries to be composed, out of 450 contemptible settlers and traders. It is easy to conceive how the narrow ideas and ignorance of such men must offend any troops, more especially those who had so long governed them, and knew the means from which they were elevated. It would be very unreasonable to suppose that such men would not be intoxicated with the unexpected power put into their hands; and that they would not be eager to show how amply they possessed it. As there were no barracks in the country, the quartering of the troops furnished perpetual opportuni-

ties of displaying their importance and rancour. The Canadian noblesse were hated, because their birth and behaviour entitled them to respect; and the peasants were abhorred, because they were saved from the oppression they were threatened with. The presentment of the Grand Jury at Quebec, puts the truth of these remarks beyond doubt.* The silence of the king's servants to the governor's remonstrances, in consequence of their presentment, though his secretary was sent to them on purpose to expedite an explanation, contributed to encourage the disturbers of the peace.

"The improper choice and numbers of the civil officers sent out from England, increased the inquietude of the colony. Instead of men of genius and untainted morals, the very reverse were appointed to the most important offices; and it was impossible to communicate, through them, those impressions of the dignity of government, by which alone mankind can be held together in society. The judge fixed upon to conciliate the minds of 75,600 foreigners to the laws and government of Great Britain, was taken from a jail, entirely ignorant of civil law, and of the language of the people. The attorney-general, with regard to the language of the people, was not better qualified.

"The offices of secretary of the province, registrar, clerk of the council, commissary of stores and provisions, provost-martial, &c., were given by patent

* The Protestant Grand Jury represented the Roman Catholics as a nuisance, on account of their religion, &c.

to men of interest in England, who let them out to the best bidders, and so little did they consider the capacity of their representatives, that not one of them understood the language of the natives. As no salary was annexed to these patent places, the value of them depended upon the fees, which, by my instructions, I was ordered to establish, equal to those of the richest ancient colony. This heavy tax, and the rapacity of the English lawyers, were severely felt by the poor Canadians ; but they patiently submitted, and, though stimulated to dispute it by some of the licentious traders from New York, they cheerfully obeyed the Stamp Act, in hopes that their good behaviour would recommend them to the favour and protection of their sovereign.

"As the council-book of the province, and likewise my answer to the complaints made against my administration, have been laid before your lordships, it is needless to presume to say any thing further on that subject, than that I glory in having been accused of warmth and firmness in protecting the king's Canadian subjects, and of doing the utmost in my power to gain to my royal master the affections of that brave, hardy people, whose emigration, if ever it should happen, will be an irreparable loss to this empire; to prevent which, I declare to your lordships, I would cheerfully submit to greater calumnies and indignities, (if greater can be devised,) than hitherto I have undergone."

Lieutenant-Governor Guy Carleton succeeded Governor Murray, in 1776, but the inhabitants, parti-

cularly the English, appear to have been discontented with the new form of administering the laws. Meetings were frequently held, and petitions were forwarded, in order to obtain a constitutional legislative government, which ended, not as the English inhabitants wished, but by restoring Canada nearly to its former condition under the French government. This celebrated act, 14 Geo. III., commonly called the Quebec Act, placed Canada in a situation entirely different from any other British colony. It declared all former provisions made for the province null and void. In place of a Legislative Assembly, the administration was to be confined to the governor and a council appointed by the king. It established the French laws according to the *Coutume de Paris*, by which all civil matters were to be adjudicated. In criminal matters, the laws of England were still to be in force. The French language was also to be used in the courts. The Catholic Church was secured in all the immunities it enjoyed under the French king, with all its former revenues. The seignorial tenures were also to remain undisturbed. In short, the principle of the government thus granted to Canada was French, not English.

This act passed through the Imperial Parliament most hurriedly, and it gave satisfaction neither to the French nor English inhabitants.

In the meantime the Stamp Act was submitted to in Canada, which, with the Quebec Act, being considered by the people of New England as having been passed merely to favour the Catholics, and the refusal

also of the Canadians to send delegates to Congress, formed the grounds on which the provincials invaded Canada.

Longeuil, St John's, and Chambly, were soon after reduced by General Montgomery, an officer of high reputation. Montreal also, in which were deposited a great quantity of military stores and provisions, surrendered to him, in November 1755. General Arnold having, by another route, reached the St Lawrence, on the 15th December, they effected a junction of their forces, and on the 31st, they attempted to storm Quebec during the night; but General Montgomery was killed, and the Americans completely repulsed. On the following year, a reinforcement of troops enabled the Canadians to drive the Americans from the province. In 1776, Lord Dorchester arrived at Quebec as governor-general, but the form of government remained unaltered until 1791, when the Act 31 George III., commonly called the Constitutional Act, divided the province of Quebec into the two provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, and gave to each a separate legislative government, consisting of a governor, council, and House of Assembly. The French laws and language were still to be in full force, as established by the Quebec Act, 15 Geo. III. Numerous inconveniencies have been the consequence of this heterogeneous incorporation of French laws and usage with a British constitution; and the partition of the province was a most impolitic measure, pregnant with difficulties.

In 1796, General Prescott was appointed governor. During his administration, several legislative acts were passed for the improvement of the province; but much of the time of the House appears to have been occupied in political disputes of little consequence. Much abuse in the granting of crown lands occurred also about the same time; and the members of the land-granting department having managed to grant each other large tracts of the most valuable lands, to the injury of vast numbers of settlers and emigrants, Governor Prescott and the Chief Justice Osgood disagreed most openly and violently on this subject.

In 1800, the affairs of the province were intrusted to the administration of Sir Robert S. Milnes, as lieutenant-governor; and, in 1807, Sir James H. Craig was appointed governor-general. The province, during this period, enjoyed peace; and its trade, in consequence of the disturbed state of Europe, flourished and increased rapidly. Difficulties, however, arose at this time between the governor and House of Assembly; and, in 1810, the resolutions of the House expelling the judges, the pledge of the House to pay the civil list, and the expulsion of Judge Sewell by vote, led to the dissolution of the Assembly; which, with the suppression of "Le Canadian" newspaper, the seizure of its press, the imprisonment of its printer, and of six others who were never tried, and some other arbitrary measures on the part of the executive, imparted to this period the designation of "the Reign of Terror."

Sir George Prevost succeeded to the administration of Canada, in 1811, as governor-general; and in the following year the United States declared war against Great Britain. The details of this war, even as far as respects Canada, would be too lengthy for this work. It will be sufficient, therefore, to observe briefly, that the provincial government immediately adopted the most decisive measures for the defence of the Canadas. The regular forces only amounted to 4000 men; but the militia was immediately enrolled, armed, and trained for active service; the garrisons were also strengthened, and in a few weeks Lower Canada was completely prepared for defensive war.

In July, General Hall, commanding the American forces, entered Upper Canada; and on the 16th of August he was opposed by General Brock, the lieutenant-governor, who vanquished his whole force, and sent them as prisoners of war to Montreal. The Americans, however, collected a strong body of troops on the Niagara frontier; and in the end of November they passed over into Canada, where, on the heights of Queenston, the battle was fought, in which the enemy were completely defeated, but which was rendered still more memorable by being the field on which the heroic Brock fell.

Soon after, the Americans again invaded the Niagara frontier, with little success; and the British naval force, with no better fortune, attacked Sackett's Harbour. In January following, (1813,) General Procter opposed General Winchester near Detroit, and made him and 500 Americans prisoners, but the

British were soon after defeated at Ogdensburg ; and in the end of April the Americans burnt York, and in less than a month they held possession of all the Niagara frontier.

General Procter again compelled 500 Americans to surrender near the River Miami ; and on the 6th of June, the defeat of the Americans near Burlington, by Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, restored the Niagara frontier to the British. Two American vessels were also captured at Isle aux Noix, by Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor ; and in July the barracks at Plattsburg and Black Rock were completely destroyed by the British. But an attack on Sackett's Harbour, by Sir George Prevost, on which great hopes were formed, completely failed ; and on the 10th of September the American Commodore Perry captured all the British vessels on Lake Erie ; and General Procter was defeated near Detroit in October following. The British were consequently obliged to retreat to Burlington ; and an American army in three divisions advanced towards Montreal. Colonel De Salabury, with the Canadian militia, however, defeated General Hampton and 7000 American troops, and compelled them to retreat to Plattsburg ; and Colonel Morrison repulsed General Boyd at Chrystler's Farm. The whole American army then retreated to Sackett's Harbour and Plattsburg. After burning Newark, the Americans retired before winter from the Niagara frontier. Meantime the British General Riall destroyed Black Rock and Buffalo.

In March following, (1814,) an American force,

under General Wilkinson, entered Canada, and, at Lacolle, was opposed by Major Handcoke, who repulsed and drove them back to the States; but in July the American General Brown captured Fort Erie. During this summer a desultory warfare was carried on between the Americans and British, in which the former had generally the most success. In August, the British received reinforcements: yet Sir George Prevost, who attacked Plattsburg with an army of 11,000 men, on the 11th May, was repulsed with much loss, although the place was only defended by 1500 regular troops, and a few companies of militia. About the same time, the squadron, hastily fitted out on Lake Champlain, and commanded by Commodore Downie, was completely defeated by the American Commodore MacDonough; Downie and several officers were killed in the action.

It now became absolutely necessary for the British to act with extraordinary vigour and decision; and in the month of November the Americans abandoned all the posts they held in Canada. The command of the Lakes was at the same time secured, and several American posts captured. The Treaty of Ghent, signed in December 1814, terminated the war.

Never were preparations carried on with greater expense, and never did those in power exhibit greater ignorance than during the whole of this inglorious war. Some remarks will be found in a following chapter on the egregious blunders of men who had the direction of such affairs as related to the expense of defending the Canadas at that time against the

Americans; the enormous amount of which is usually placed by the economists to the sole account of what those provinces cost Great Britain, while it is well known that their chief and most effective security depended on the bravery of their own militia.

Sir George Gordon Drummond succeeded Sir George Prevost in the administration of the government, in April 1815, and John Wilson, Esq., held the office of administrator after him until the arrival of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, who was appointed governor-general in July 1816. Few political matters of consequence occured during this period, unless it were a repetition of discontents on the part of the House of Assembly, which impeached the Chief Justices of Quebec and Montreal. The vigorous and judicious administration of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke was highly satisfactory.

In July 1818, the Duke of Richmond arrived as governor-general. His administration, if not so active as that of his predecessor, was at least satisfactory, and its duration was suddenly terminated by his death at Ottawa, in consequence of hydrophobia, in September 1819. Under him, the legislature agreed to pay the civil list of the province, and out of this measure arose those financial questions which created such discontent and difficulties during the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie. From the death of the Duke of Richmond, until the arrival of Lord Dalhousie as governor-general, in 1820, the government of the province was administered by the Honour-

able James Monk as president, and afterwards by Sir Peregrine Maitland.

It is difficult to reconcile the amiable private character of the Earl of Dalhousie, and the harmony which characterised his administration in Nova Scotia, with his unhappy administration of the affairs of Canada.

The remote causes of the difficulties that disturbed the tranquillity of Canada during Lord Dalhousie's government, may be easily discovered in the Quebec Acts of 1774 and 1791 ;* but the immediate causes of discontent may be considered as originating in the legislature agreeing to pay the civil list, and the crown accepting of the same without any specific constitutional stipulation at the time. The financial affairs of the province continued to go on smoothly, until the death of his Majesty George the Third, when a new provincial Parliament was assembled, of whom it was expected, by the executive government, that they should pass a bill providing for the civil establishment of the province. The Legislative Assembly then came to a resolution to appropriate, in separate items, the whole revenue of the province, amounting to about L.140,000, including about L.34,000 of annual permanent revenue, secured to the crown by the Quebec Act of 1774, and a small hereditary revenue of about L.3400. The crown, however, claimed the exclusive right of distributing the latter sums, amounting together to nearly L.3800, " as the

* See Chapter V., on the Constitution of Canada.

Quebec acts of 1774 and 1791 imposed on the lords-commissioners of the treasury the duty of appropriating the revenue granted to his Majesty by the first of those statutes; and that, whilst the law should continue unaltered by the same authority by which it was framed, his Majesty's government was not authorized to replace the revenue under the control of the legislature of the province." This formed the grand ground of dispute between the representative assembly and the executive. "Both parties," as Mr Huskisson observed in the House of Commons, "might be fairly considered as standing on their extreme rights." Neither, however, would yield; Lord Dalhousie came to England, but returned again, in 1825, to Canada, and the arrangement of the finance question became every day more difficult. He dissolved the House, and a new House was assembled, but he refused to approve of the appointment of Mr Papineau as speaker: the House of Assembly would elect no other: it was prorogued accordingly; and the imperatively necessary legislative business of the province was consequently stopped, and all operations depending on the appropriation of the revenue by the House of Assembly lost to the provinces. It was impossible for matters to continue long in this state. 87,000 of the inhabitants petitioned the king. They charged his lordship with arbitrary conduct; of applying public money without legal appropriations; of violent prorogation and dissolution of the Assembly; of preventing the passing of many useful acts; of continuing the receiver-general in office

after he was known to be insolvent, and a defaulter to the amount of L.96,000, and of allowing similar abuses with regard to sheriffs; "of dismissing the principal militia officers for the constitutional exercise of their rights; of the sudden and extensive remodelling of the commission of the peace, to serve," they alleged, "political purposes; and of a vexatious system of prosecution for libel at the instance of the attorney-general." His Majesty's ministers submitted the affairs of Canada to a committee of the House of Commons, who certainly devoted their most serious attention to the subject. Their report recommended, "That it will be advantageous that the declaratory enactment in the Tenure Act, respecting lands held in free or common soccage, should be retained. That mortgages should be special; and that in proceedings for the conveyance of land, the simplest and least expensive forms should be adopted, upon the principle of the law of England. That a registration of deeds relating to soccage lands should be established; that means should be found of bringing into effective operation the clauses in the Tenure Act; and they entertain no doubt of the inexpediency of retaining the seignorial rights of the crown, in the hope of deriving a profit from them; that some competent jurisdiction should be established to try and decide causes arising out of this description of property; and that circuit courts should be instituted within the townships for the same purposes. That the Canadians of French extraction should in no degree be disturbed in the peaceful enjoyment of their religion, laws, and

privileges, as secured to them by the British acts of Parliament; and so far from requiring them to hold lands on the British tenure, they think, that when the lands in the seigniories are fully occupied, if the descendants of the original settlers shall still retain their attachment to the tenure of *fief et seigneurie*, they see no objections to the other portions of unoccupied lands in that province being granted to them on the same tenure, provided that such lands are set apart from, and not intermixed with the townships."

"That although, from the opinion given by the law officers of the crown, the committee must conclude that the legal right of appropriating the revenues arising from the act of 1744, is vested in the crown, they are prepared to say, that the real interests of the provinces would be best promoted by placing the receipt and expenditure of the whole public revenue under the superintendence and control of the House of Assembly. On the other hand, the governor, the members of the executive council, and the judges, should be independent of the annual votes of the House of Assembly for their respective salaries. That the committee were fully aware of the objections in principle, which may be fairly raised against the practice of voting permanent salaries to judges who are removable at the pleasure of the crown; but being convinced that it would be inexpedient that the crown should be deprived of that power of removal, and having well considered the public inconvenience which might result from their being left in

dependence upon annual votes of the Assembly, they have decided to make the recommendation, in their instance, of a permanent vote of salary ; that although the grant of permanent salaries has been recommended to a much greater number of persons connected with the executive government than they have included in their recommendation, they have no hesitation in expressing their opinion that it was unnecessary to include so large a number; and if the officers above enumerated are placed on the footing recommended, they are of opinion that all the revenues of the province (except territorial and hereditary revenues) should be placed under the control and direction of the Legislative Assembly; that the committee could not close their observations on this branch of their enquiry without calling the attention of the House to the important circumstance, that in the progress of these disputes, the local government has thought it necessary, through a long series of years, to have recourse to a measure (which nothing but the most extreme necessity could justify) of annually appropriating, by its own authority, large sums of the money of the province, amounting to no less than L.140,000 without the consent of the representatives of the people, under whose control the appropriation of these monies are placed by the constitution.

" The committee cannot but express their deep regret that such a state of things should have been allowed to exist for so many years in a British colony,

without any communication or reference having been made to Parliament on the subject."

The Earl of Dalhousie soon after returned from Canada; and his Majesty's government at the time declared in Parliament their approbation of his lordship's conduct in Canada; and his appointment to a high command in India forms the most presumptive, if not conclusive proof, that his lordship only acted in Canada according to the directions he received from England. Being in the British colonies at the time the finanical difficulties commenced, I knew well that in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, the general impression was, that his lordship was only acting agreeably to instructions from the Colonial Office. That the Earl of Dalhousie's "heart was in the right place," I have no doubt; that he felt the utmost anxiety for the prosperity of the great country of which he was governor, I am fully convinced. Its agriculture, its trade, and particularly the education of its youth, he was ardently bent on encouraging and fostering; but he failed, and that most unfortunately and most egregiously, either in making the experiment of bringing the representatives of the inhabitants to act agreeably to his own wishes or ideas, or probably, as is more generally believed, in forcing the instructions of the Colonial Office into impracticable operation. That he should have persisted in such measures, is to be regretted; for he did most assuredly err only in judgment—few men could be more honest in heart. Such men as

Sir Howard Douglas, and Sir James Kempt, would have acted otherwise; the former I know, and the latter I believe, would have immediately resigned, sooner than remain administering the government of a British colony under similar circumstances to those of Canada previous to the departure of the Earl of Dalhousie.

Sir James Kempt entered upon the duties of the administration of Canada under peculiarly delicate circumstances; yet, on calling a meeting of the legislature, and formally accepting the election of Mr Papineau as speaker, his speech, at the opening of the session, was conciliatory, mild, and wise. "Placed," said his Excellency, "in a situation of so much importance at a period of peculiar difficulty, I cannot but feel that very arduous duties are imposed upon me; duties, indeed, which I should despair of being able to discharge to the satisfaction of his Majesty, and his faithful and loyal subjects the inhabitants of this province, if I did not look forward, with a sanguine hope, to the enjoyment of your confidence, and your cordial co-operation in my administration of the government.

"Without a good understanding between the different branches of the legislature, the public affairs of the colony cannot prosper; the evils which are now experienced cannot be effectually cured; the prosperity and welfare of his Majesty's Canadian subjects cannot be promoted; and you may therefore believe that no exertions will be spared on my part to promote conciliation, by measures in which the

undoubted prerogatives of the crown, and your constitutional privileges, are equally respected.

"His Majesty's government has, however, relieved me from the responsibility attendant upon any measures to be adopted for the adjustment of the financial difficulties that have unfortunately occurred, and I shall take an early opportunity of conveying to you, by message, a communication from his Majesty, which I have been especially commanded to make to you upon the subject of the appropriation of the provincial revenue."

After stating that he would direct the public accounts to be laid before the House, he continued, "possessing, as yet, but an imperfect knowledge of the great interests of the province, and the wants of its inhabitants, I refrain, at the present time, from recommending to you measures of public improvement, which it will be my duty to bring under your consideration at a future day. In all countries, however, good roads, and other internal communications, —a general system of education, established upon sound principles,—and a well-organized militia force, are found to be so conducive to the prosperity, the happiness, and the security of their inhabitants, that I may be permitted to mention them at present, as objects of prominent utility.

"But an oblivion of all past jealousies and dissensions is the first great step towards improvement of any kind; and, when that is happily accomplished, and the undivided attention of the executive government and the legislature shall be given to the advance-

ment of the general interests of the province, in a spirit of cordial co-operation, there is no reason to doubt that Lower Canada will rapidly advance in prosperity ; and emulate, ere long, the most opulent and flourishing portions of the North American continent."

The message which his Excellency, conveyed by the command of his Majesty's government, intimated, however, a perseverance in the finance measures which had caused such difficulties during Lord Dalhousie's government. It stated, that " his Excellency was commanded to say, that the statutes passed in the fourteenth and thirty-first years of the reign of his late Majesty, have imposed upon the lords-commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, the duty of appropriating the produce of the revenue granted to his Majesty by these statutes ; and that, whilst the law shall continue unaltered by the same authority by which it was framed, his Majesty is not authorized to place the revenue under the control of the legislature of this province."

Every other part of the message contained nothing but what was calculated to maintain harmony in the province. The old " bone of contention" was, however, persisted in ; and the representative assembly passed sixteen resolutions. The first five, and the sixteenth, are worthy of quoting, and are as follows :—

" 1. That this House has derived the greatest satisfaction from the gracious expression of his Majesty's beneficent views towards this province, and from the earnest desire of his Excellency, the administrator of

the government, to promote the peace, welfare, and good government of the province, as evinced in his Excellency's message of Friday last.

"2. That this House has nevertheless observed, with great concern, that it may be inferred from the expression of that part of the said message which relates to the appropriation of the revenue, that the pretension put forth at the commencement of the late administration, to the disposal of a large portion of the revenue of this province, may be persisted in.

"3. That under no circumstances, and upon no considerations whatsoever, ought this House to abandon, or in any way compromise, its inherent and constitutional right, as a branch of the provincial parliament representing his Majesty's subjects in this colony, to superintend and control the receipt and expenditure of the whole public revenue arising within this province.

"4. That any legislative enactment in this matter, by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in which his Majesty's subjects in this province are not, and cannot be represented, unless it were for the repeal of such British statutes, or any part of British statutes, as may be held by his Majesty's government to militate against the constitutional rights of the subject in this colony, could in no way tend to a settlement of the affairs of the province.

"5. That no interference of the British legislature with the established constitution and laws of this province, (excepting on such points as form the relation

between the country and the Canadas, and can only be disposed of by the paramount authority of the British Parliament,) can in any way tend to the final adjustment of any difficulties or misunderstandings which may exist in this province, but rather to aggravate and perpetuate them.

"16. That amongst these questions not particularly mentioned on the present occasion, this House holds as most desirable to be adjusted, and most essential to the future peace, welfare, and good government of the province, viz.—

"The independence of the judges, and their removal from the political business of the province.

"The responsibility and accountability of the public officers.

"A greater independence of support from the public revenue, and more intimate connexion with the interest of the colony, in the composition of the legislative council.

"The application of the late property of the Jesuits to the purpose of general education.

"The removal of all obstructions to the settlement of the country, particularly by the crown and clergy reserves remaining unoccupied in the neighbourhood of roads and settlements, and exempt from the common burdens."

The good sense and vigorous mind of Sir James Kempt disregarded, for the time, formal obstacles which had for some years deprived the province of the indispensable advantage of legislative appropria-

tion. He therefore assented to a supply bill, formed upon the constitutional principles contended for by the House of Assembly, " that all the revenue accruing in the province shall be under the control and appropriation of the provincial legislature." The following extract from his excellency's dispatch to Sir George Murray on the subject, will best illustrate the wisdom of his decision. " I could entertain no hope," says Sir James Kempt, " after the resolutions adopted by the House of Assembly, (previously transmitted to Sir George Murray,) that it would be disposed to pass any act in which the king's right to appropriate the revenue raised by the 14th Geo. III. c. 88, would be specifically acknowledged; and, although the present bill is substantially the same as the supply bill passed in 1825, to which objections were stated by Earl Bathurst, in a dispatch addressed to Sir Francis Burton, dated the 4th June, 1825, yet as you admit in the dispatch of the 29th September, 1828, which I had the honour of receiving from you, that, 'as long as the House of Assembly is called upon to provide for, and to regulate any portion of the public expenditure, it virtually acquires a control over the whole;' and as a scheme for the permanent settlement of the financial concerns of the province is in contemplation, I assented to the present arrangement, viewing it as a temporary measure to meet the difficulties of the present year, until such a scheme is matured, and a permanent settlement effected of the question in controversy by his Majesty's government at home.

" I was further induced to give my assent to the present measure, by the consideration, that without a supply of some kind by the provincial legislature, the public service could not be carried on under the instructions which I have had the honour of receiving from you, the funds which the law has placed at his Majesty's disposal being insufficient to defray the expenses of the civil government; under all circumstances, therefore, I entertain a hope, that the arrangement which I have sanctioned will be approved of by his Majesty's government."

It would have been impossible for Sir James Kempt, with all the power of his well-known great abilities, to have established harmony in the province, had he not taken upon himself to assent to the finance bill passed by the provincial parliament. His administration throughout was conciliatory and constitutional; and he may be said to have effected a completely satisfactory understanding between the legislative and the executive government. An act of the provincial parliament was passed in 1828, which received his Majesty's sanction in August 1829, to increase the representation of Lower Canada from fifty to eighty-four members. In 1830, a general election took place, agreeably to this act; and on the return of Sir James Kempt to England, Lord Aylmer, the present governor, was appointed his successor. The present state of Canada requires the most serious attention of the imperial government. By wise policy, this vast province may be long secured to the British empire. The mighty consequence of maintaining the

affection and loyalty of his Majesty's subjects in Canada, and the great value of that country, have not, however, of late years been justly appreciated, and least of all by those obtuse politicians who have adopted the impracticable doctrines of modern theorists.

CHAPTER V.

Government and Laws of Canada—Quebec Act—Partition of the Province, and evil Consequences—Counties and Representation—Coutume de Paris—New Division of the Province—Constitution of the Government—Administration of the Laws—Districts—Courts, Judges, Lawyers, Notaries—Canadian Laws, Estates, and Tenures—Revenue—Civil List—Military Force—Public Departments—Public Burdens, and Expenditure, &c.

THE Quebec Act, which passed in the year 1774, fixed the boundaries of Canada. It then comprehended the lower and upper provinces, according to their present limits, and also a vast tract of country lying between Lake Erie, and the Ohio and Mississippi. The British were afterwards wheedled, certainly not forced, out of the latter valuable territory. By this act all former provisions made for the province were declared null and void; and it enacted also, "That his Majesty's subjects professing the religion of the Church of Rome, in the said province of Quebec, may have, hold, and enjoy, the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the king's supremacy," (as by Act 1 Elizabeth,) "and that the clergy of the said church may hold, receive, and enjoy, their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion." "That it shall be lawful for his

Majesty, his heirs, or successors, to make such provision out of the list of the said accustomed dues and rights for the support of the Protestant clergy, within the said province, as he or they shall from time to time think necessary and expedient." By this act, the Canadians, religious orders excepted, were secured in all their property and possessions, with recourse to the French laws of Canada in all matters of controversy, but not to extend to lands granted by his Majesty in common soccage. The criminal laws of England only were to be continued. It also appointed a council with the power to make ordinances, with the consent of the governor; but not to impose taxes, except for making roads. These ordinances were to be laid before his Majesty for allowance, and those touching religion not to be in force until approved of by the king. It left also to the king the power of constituting courts of criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

This act appears to have been founded on a petition and memorial to the king from the Canadians. The English residents, who held several meetings some time before, in order to obtain a legislative assembly, stated afterwards in their proceedings, "That this act was by no means agreeable to the great body of the Canadians—that the number of names to it were only 65, some of these were signed by lads of fifteen or sixteen years; while to the petition of the English residents, there were 148 names; and that there was no wish to re-establish the French laws, except on the part of the priests," and "that

the said act of Parliament is a *wicked* and abominable act, that authorizes a bloody religion, which spreads around it, wherever it is propagated, impiety, murders, and rebellion." The latter assertion was also made ample use of by the American provincialists as their standard argument for invading Canada during the revolutionary war. The Canadians were, however, highly satisfied with the order of government established by this act—they had every possible reason for being so; and it must be admitted that, considering the condition of Canada at that period, there was but one solid objection to the act on the part of the English—that was, re-establishing the French laws of Canada according to the "Coutume de Paris." Evils and difficulties have arisen in consequence, which, if not satisfactorily adjusted, may yet unfold themselves in subverting the peace of Canada.

Under this act the government of Canada was administered until 1791, when Mr Pitt introduced the act commonly called the Constitutional Act. It divided Canada into two provinces; and each province into districts and counties, with legislative assemblies. To Upper Canada it granted a constitution nearly resembling that of Nova Scotia. To Lower Canada it gave a constitutional government, consisting of a governor, executive and legislative councils, and a representative assembly* of fifty members, thirty-nine

* The English inhabitants did not, when they were petitioning for a House of Assembly, foresee that the Canadians, as has ever since been the case, would enjoy the ascendency in the provincial parliament.

of whom being knights representing twenty-one counties—eight citizens, four each for the cities of Quebec and Montreal—and three burgesses, two for Three Rivers, and one for William Henry.

The lower province was accordingly divided into the following counties, viz. :—Bedford, Buckinghamshire, Cornwallis, Devon, Dorchester, Effingham, Gaspè, Hampshire, Hertford, Huntingdon, Kent, Leinster, Montreal, Northumberland, Orleans, Quebec, Richelieu, St Maurice, Surrey, Warwick, and York ; all of which elected each two representatives, excepting Bedford, Gaspè, Orleans, and York, which only elected one member for each county.

The Coutume de Paris and the French language were still, however, retained in the courts, and the latter permitted in the Legislative Assembly. In a British province both these admissions were inconvenient, if not unwise and impolitic ; they have preserved that line of separation, so much to be regretted, between the English and French Canadians ; and form an exception to the laws and usages of all our other colonies. In no other part of North America, including the United States, is the French language that of the senate or the forum.* Mr Pitt also intended to create an order of nobility ; but his plan was never acted upon.

* Until 1362, when a statute enacted " That all pleas in courts of justice shall be pleaded in English," French was the language of our courts. On granting a representative government to Canada, provision might have been made for the gradual introduction, and the final establishment, of the English language in the court and senate. It would be dangerous to attempt, and impracticable to do so now.

The representation of the colony, notwithstanding the rapid increase of its population, remained unaltered, until the provincial act of the 9th Geo. IV. subdivided the counties, for the more equal representation of the inhabitants, as follows :

GASPE—Commencing at Point Maquereaux, at the entrance of Chaleur Bay, running N.W. 47 miles, thence south until it intersects a line from Cape Chat on the St Lawrence, along the said last-mentioned line, and the River and Gulf of St Lawrence, including the Island of Bonaventure and all the islands in front and nearest the same, and the Magdalene Islands in the Gulf of St Lawrence, which county comprises the fiefs of St Anne, Magdalene, Grand Vallée des Monts, and Anse de l'Etang, the Bay of Gaspè, and settlements therein, Point St Peter, Malbay, Percé, Anse à Beaufils, Cape Despair, Grand River, Little River, Papas, and Newport.

BONAVENTURE—Bounded by the county of Gaspè, and consists of such part of the inferior district of Gaspè, as is included between the county of Gaspè and the district of Quebec, including all the islands in front nearest to the county, which county comprises the seigniory of Schoolbred, the Indian village of Mission, and the settlements above and below the same on the north of the River Restigouche, the settlements of Carlton, Maria, Richmond, Hamilton, including Bonaventure, Cox, including the town of New Carlisle, Hope, including Paspabiac, Les Nouvelle, and Port Daniel.

RIMOUSKI—Bounded by the inferior district of

Gaspè, by the S.W. line of the seigniory of Rivière du Loup, prolonged to the southern bounds of the province, and on the N.W. by the River St Lawrence, including all the islands in the river, in front of the county, nearest the same, which county comprises the seigniories of Rivière du Loup, Isle Verte, D'Artigny, Trois Pistoles, Rioux des Trois Pistoles, Bic, Rimouski, Barnabè, Lepage, Tivierge, Mitis, and Matane, and all other lands comprised within the said lands.

KAMOURASKA—Bounded by Rimouski, by the N.E. line of the seigniory of St Roch des Aulnets, prolonged to the southern boundary of the province, and on the N.W. by the River St Lawrence, together with the islands in the River St Lawrence, nearest to the county fronting the same, and on the S.E. by the southern boundary of the province; which county comprises the seigniory of Terrebois, Granville and Laccenaye, L'Islet du Portage, Granville, Kamouraska, St Dennis, Rivière Ouelle, and its augmentation, and St Anne, and the townships of Bungay, Woodbridge, and Ixworth.

L'ISLET—Comprises the seigniories of St Roch des Aulnets, Reaume, St Jean Port Ioli, Islet, Lessard, Bonsecours, Vincelot and its augmentation, Cape St Ignace, Gagnier, St Claire, Rivière du Sud and Lepinay.

BELLECHASSE—Comprises the seigniories of Berthier, St Vallier, St Michel, Beaumont and augmentation, La Durantaye and augmentation, La Marti-

niere, Montapeine, Vincennes, St Gervais, and Lavaudiere, and townships of Buckland and Standon.

DORCHESTER—Consists of the seigniory of Lauzon.

BEAUCE—Comprises the seigniories of Jolliet, St Etienne, St Marie, St Joseph, Vaudreuil, Aubert Gallion, Aubin de l'Isle, townships of Frampton, Cranbourne, Watford, Jersey, Manlow, Rixborough, Spalding, Ditchfield and Woburn, and part of Clinton east of Arnold River.

MEGANTICK—Comprehends the townships of Somerset, Nelson, Halifax, Inverness, Ireland, Wolfston, Leeds, Thetford, Broughton, Coleraine, Tring, Shenley, Oulney, Winslow, Dorset, and Gayhurst.

LOTBINIERE—Comprises the seigniories of Tilly, or St Antoine, Gaspè, St Giles des Pleines, Bonsecours, St Croix, Lotbinière, and St Jean d'Eschaillons, and their augmentations.

NICOLET—Bounded on the east by Lobinière, and on the west by the line between Nicolet and La Baie du Febvre and Courval, towards the north by the St Lawrence, and on the south by the Becancour, the rear line of the seigniory of Becancour, on the west of that river by the lines between the townships Aston and Godefroy, Roquetaillade and the augmentation of Nicolet, and by the near line of the augmentation of Nicolet.

YAMASKA—Comprehends the seigniories of La Baie du Febvre, Courval, Lussaudiere, Pierreville, St François and its augmentation, Lavalliere, or St Michel, D'Yamaska, and Deguire.

DRUMMOND—Contains the townships of Aston,

Bulstrode, Stanfold, Arthabaska, Chester, Ham, Wotton, Tingwick, Warwick, Horton, Wendover, Simpson, Kingsey, Durham, Wickham, Grantham, Upton, and Acton, with all augmentations of said townships.

SHERBROOKE—Contains the townships of Garthby, Hatford, Whitton, Marston, Clinton, Wobrom, Stanhope, Croydon, Chesham, Adstock, Lingwick, Weedon, Dudswell, Bury, Hampden, Ditton, Emberton, Drayton, Auckland, Newport, Westbury, Stoke, Ascot, Eaton, Hereford, Compton, Clifton, Windsor, Brompton, Shipton, Melbourne, and Oxford, with all augmentations of said townships.

STANSTEAD—Contains the townships of Hatley, Barnston, Barford, Stanstead, Bolton, and Potton, with all augmentations of said townships.

MISSISKOUI—Contains the seigniory of St Armand, and the townships of Sutton, Dunham, and Stanbridge, with all augmentations of said townships.

SHEFFORD—Contains the townships of Ely, Stukely, Brome, Shefford, Roxton, Milton, Granby, and Farnham, with augmentations of said townships.

RICHELIEU—Comprehends the seigniories of St Ours and augmentation, St Dennis, St Charles, Sorel, Bourchemin, west of the Yamaska, Bourg Marie, and St Charles on the Yamaska, with the isles Cochon, Madame, Ronde, De Grace, Aux Ours, Battures à la Carpe, Isles du Sable, du Moine, and du Basque in the St Lawrence, and the isles in the Richelieu, nearest the county.

ST HYACINTHE—Comprehends the seigniories of

De Ramsay, Bourchemin, east of Yamaska, and St Hyacinthe.

ROUVILLE—Comprising the seigniories of Rouville, Chambly, East Monnoir and augmentation, Bleury, Sabrevois, Noyan, and Foucault.

VERCHERES—Comprehends the seigniories of Contrecœur, Bellevue, Vercheres, Blain, Guillodière, Cape Michel, Varennes, Belœil and augmentation, Cournoyer, and all the islands in the St Lawrence opposite the same, isle Bouchard excepted.

CHAMBLY—Comprehending the seigniories of Boucherville, Montarville, Longueuil, Fief Tremblay, Chambly west, and the barony of Longueuil.

LAPRAIRIE—Comprehends the seigniories of Laprairie, Sault St Louis, La Salle, and Chanteauguay, and the isles nearest to the county.

L'ACADIE—Comprehends the seigniories of Lacolle and De Lery, and the township of Sherrington, also the lands nearest to the county.

BEAUHARNOIS—Comprises the seigniory of Beauharnois, and the townships of Hemmingford, Hinchinbrook, and Godmanchester, and the Indian lands thereof, to St Regis, on the boundary of the province.

VAUDREUIL—Comprises the seigniories of Vaudreuil, Rigaud, Soulanges, and New Longueuil, and the township of Newton.

OTTAWA—Comprises the seigniory of La Petite Nation, and the townships of Lochaber and augmentation, Buckingham, Templeton, Hull, Eardly, Onslow, and all the townships on the north of the Ottawa.

TWO MOUNTAINS—Comprises the seigniories of

Revière du Chêne, Lake of the Two Mountains and augmentation, Argenteuil, the townships of Chatham, Grenville, and Wentworth, Hamington, Arundel, and Howard, the parishes of St Eustache, St Benòit, St Scholastique, Lake of the Two Mountains, and isle Bizarre.

TERREBONNE—Comprehends the seigniories of isle Jesus, Terrebonne and augmentation, Des Plaines, Blainville, part of Mille Isles and augmentation, and the township of Abercrombie.

LACHENAIE—Comprehends the parishes of Lachenaie, Mascouche, and St Roche, and townships of Kilkenny and Wexford.

L'ASSOMPTION.—Comprehends the parishes of St Sulpice, comprising isle Bouchard, Repentigny, L'Assomption, and St Jacques, and townships of Rawdon and Chertsey.

MONTREAL—Comprehending the seigniory of Montreal.

BERTHIER—Comprises the seigniories of Berthier and augmentation, Du Sable or York, part of Masquinongé, Fief Chicot, Lanoraye, Dautray and augmentations, Lavaltrie and augmentation, Daillebout, and De Ramsay, part of Lanaudiére, and the townships of Brandon, Kildare, and the islands of St Ignace, and Du Pads.

ST MAURICE—Comprises the seigniories of St Marguerite, St Maurice, Point du Lac, Gatineau, Yamachiche, Rivière du Loup, Grand Pré, Fief St Jean and its augmentation, Masquinongè, Carufel, and part of Lanaudiére.

CHAMPLAIN—Comprises the seigniories of St Anne and augmentation, St Marie, Batiscan, Champlain, Cap de la Magdelene, and all the islands nearest the said county.

PORTNEUF—Comprises the seigniories of Guadaville, Fossambault, Augustin, Guillaume Bonhomme, Point aux Trembles, Bourg-Louis, Belair and augmentation, Dauteuil, Jacques Cartier, Portneuf, Perthuis, Deschambault, Lachevrotiere, La Tesserie, Francheville, Grondines and augmentation.

QUEBEC—Comprises the seigniories of Beauport, Notre Dame des Anges, Dorsainville, Lepinay, Fief St Ignace, Fief Hubert, Sillery, and St Gabriel, the townships of Stoneham and Tewkesbury, and the parishes of Beauport, Charlesbourg, St Ambrose, Jeune Lorette, part of Ancienne Lorette, St Foi, and of Quebec.

MONTMORENCY—Comprehending the parishes of St Fèrèol, St Joachim, St Anne, Chateau Richer, and L'Ange Gardien.

SAGUENAY—Comprises part of the seigniory of Beaupré, Gouffré, Eboulemens, Murray Bay, and Mount Murray, and the township of Settington.

ORLEANS—Comprehending the whole of the island of that name.

The first Provincial Parliament, elected agreeably to the new scale of representation, assembled in December last (1830). Under the former plan, the representation was far from equal, as it was nearly altogether vested in the seigniories. Great and good expectations are anticipated from the remodelled

House of Representatives; but until the laws of Canada correspond also, as those of the other colonies do, with a free representative government, sufficient causes will exist for creating fresh difficulties in the administration of the government and laws.

The office of the Governor of Canada is both civil and military, and he is Captain-General of all British America. There is also a lieutenant-governor, who, in the absence of the governor-general, succeeds to the administration, and, in the absence of both, the President of the Executive Council, which represents the Privy Council in England, administers the government.

The Legislative Council, representing the Lords, and the House of Assembly, representing the Commons, form the Provincial Parliament of Canada. Bills passed by both Houses become laws when assented to by the governor or his representative. Some bills require to be sent to his Majesty for the royal allowance. Acts of the Provincial Parliament, which repeal or annul such laws and customs as were formerly established respecting tythes, or laws respecting the appropriation of land for the support of Protestant clergymen; the right of the clergy to recover dues to ecclesiastics; the constituting and endowing of parsonages and rectories; the right of presentation to the same; the establishment and discipline of the Church of England; and the king's prerogative concerning the granting of waste lands in the province, are to be laid before the Imperial Parliament, before receiving the royal allowance.

The Provincial Parliament has the exclusive right of raising a revenue for the expenses and exigencies of the colony.

The members of the Legislative Council must be natural born subjects; or they must be naturalized according to act of Parliament. Their appointment is for life, unless they be at one time five years absent from the province. The members of the House of Assembly for the counties, are elected by those who possess landed property of the clear yearly value of forty shillings; and for the towns, by five-pound freeholders, or L.10 annualrent payers—clergymen are not eligible—men of all religions, by the constitution, are tolerated to sit. Some years ago, Mr Hart, a Jew, and according to the information given me, a very respectable intelligent man, was elected to represent Three Rivers; but the House of Assembly took upon themselves to expel him on account of his religion. He was re-elected, and again expelled.

In the Supreme Court of King's Bench, all civil matters over L.10 sterling, except those of admiralty jurisdiction, and all criminal offences, are adjudicated.

The province is divided into the superior districts of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, and the inferior districts of Gaspè, and St Francis. In the Court of King's Bench at Quebec, and also at Montreal, a chief justice and three puisne judges preside.

In the court at Three Rivers, the several judges of the Court of King's Bench for the districts of Quebec and Montreal preside, and take precedence according

to the date of their respective commissions. The provincial judge of the district also sits in this court; but on hearing criminal matters, the chief justice of the province, or the chief justice of Montreal, must preside. Inferior courts, in which a provincial judge presides, are also held in each of the districts, for deciding causes not exceeding L.10.

The provincial court for Gaspè has, however, cognizance of all matters not exceeding L.100; appeals from its decision may be made to the court at Quebec.

The provincial court for the district of St Francis, is only empowered to decide matters of dispute not exceeding L.20.

There is also a Provincial Court of Appeals, which decides according to the usage of the House of Lords. The governor, the chief justice of the province, the chief justice of Montreal, and the executive council, form this court.

In the Court of Chancery the governor is chancellor. There is also a Court of Vice-Admiralty; a Court of Escheats and Forfeitures of Land; and in each of the districts, quarter-sessions of the peace are held. The duties of the high and under-sheriffs, and coroners, are nearly the same as in England. The Court of King's Bench has also a clerk of the crown, prothonotaries, commissioners for receiving evidence, French translator and interpreter, with the usual offices, such as criers, constables, jailers, &c.

In the seigniories and townships there are commissioners appointed for the summary trial of small

causes, and justices of the peace take cognizance of offences, as in England. There are nearly 200 lawyers on the rolls of the Court of King's Bench, all of whom are solicitors, proctors, and attorneys, as well as advocates. Many of them are men of learning and talent; and to become an able lawyer in the courts of Lower Canada, assuredly requires not only superior abilities, but great application, both in English and French, to the study of the complex laws of the province. The barristers acted formerly as notaries, but the latter now form a distinct profession, which may be said to monopolize the engrossing of all records that may, by any possibility, ever become subject of dispute. Each notary's office is in fact a sort of register-office. There are nearly 300 notaries in the province, and mostly Canadians.

The laws of Lower Canada may be classed under the following general heads:—

1. The criminal law, which consists of the code of England in full, with some provincial statutes not repugnant thereto.

2. The admiralty laws, which are wholly English.

3. The commercial laws, which affect matters of trade, chiefly those that may have originated in places or countries not within the limits of Canada. These laws are regulated nearly according to English practice, except that there are juries only for the trial of criminal offences.

4. The *Coutume de Paris*, as it existed in 1666, in which year this code was reformed.

5. The civil or Roman law where the Coutume de Paris is silent.

6. The *ordonnances*, edicts, and declarations of the French governors of Canada.

7. The provincial legislative laws.

The French laws affect all property, whether real or personal, in the seigniories; and by the constitutional act of 1791, even lands in the townships, granted in free and common soccage, are subject to all the incidents of the Coutume de Paris. The Canada Tenure Act of 1826, declares, "that the law of England was the rule by which real property within the townships was to be hereafter regulated and administered."

According to the Canada laws and tenures, we find, in the present day, estates held according to the old French feudatory system. The seigneurs and *habitans* are fondly and pertinaciously attached to it. The English as strongly object to all its operations.*

Under this system estates are held nobly as *fiefs*, or *franc aleu noble*; and in *villainage*, subject to *cens* or *censive*, and *franc aleu villain*.

All the lands on both shores of the River St Lawrence, from Rimouski to Longueuil, thirty miles above Montreal, were granted by the French king to certain personages, who became *seigneurs*. The tenure was *feudal*, holding immediately of the king *en fief*, or *en roture*, with *foi et homage* to him.

The seigneurs conceded their lands in lots of

* Note A.

about seventy arpents (about seventy acres) to tenants, who paid nothing at first, but, on cultivating the soil, gave the seigneur a small sum of five shillings or more, a bushel of wheat, and a couple of fowls, or something else, which they raised on the farm, in the lieu of rent, together with certain services; and they were also to grind their corn at his mill, of which he retained *banalité*, or *mouture*, a fourteenth part, as the miller's fee.

The seigneur is also entitled to one tenth part of the fish caught on his property; and he may cut down timber growing on the *cencives*, for the purpose of building mills, opening roads, and making bridges, as being works of general benefit to his tenants. The *seigneurs* have certain powers which enable them to oppress the *censitaires*, but they rarely or never exercise their authority; and the *habitans*, having always experienced kind usage, are perfectly happy.

The King of France was feudal lord of the Canadian seigniories, and the King of Great Britain succeeded to this prerogative.

On all transfers of landed property in the seigniories, mutation fines are due, either to the feudal lord, or seigneur. These fines, as well as some other rights, claims, and descents, have acquired names from the *Coutume de Paris*, which are now heard daily, in the language of common parlance, in Canada, and therefore require some explanation.

Quints is a fifth part of the purchase-money of an estate held *en fief*, which must be paid by the pur-

chaser to the feudal lord, that is, to the king. If the feudal lord believes the *fief* to be sold under value, he can take the estate to himself by paying the purchaser the price he gave for it, with all reasonable expenses.*

Reliefe is the rent or revenue of one year for mutation fine, when an estate is inherited only by collateral descent.

Lods et ventes are fines of alienation of one-twelfth part of the purchase-money paid to the seigneur by the purchaser, on the transfer of property, in the same manner as *quints* are paid to the king on the mutation of *fiefs*; and are held *en roture*, which is an estate to which heirs succeed equally.

Franc aleu noble is a fief, or freehold estate, held subject to no seigniorial rights or duties, and acknowledging no lord but the king.

The succession to fiefs is different from that of property held *en roture*, or by *villainage*. The eldest son, by right, takes the chateau, and the yard adjoining it; also an *arpent* of the garden joining the manor-house, and the mills, ovens, or presses within the seigniory, belong to him; but the profit arising from these is to be divided among the other heirs. Females have no precedence of right; and when there are only daughters, the *fief* is equally divided among them. When there are only two sons, the eldest takes two-thirds of the lands, besides the chateau, mill, &c., and the younger one-third. When

* The Committee of the House of Commons, in their Report on the affairs of Canada in 1828, recommended the crown to relinquish the quints.

there are several sons, the elder claims half the lands, and the rest have the other half divided among them.

Censive is an estate held in the feudal manner, subject to the seigneurial fines or dues. All the Canadian *habitans*, or small farmers, are *censitaires*.

Property, according to the laws of Canada, is either *propre*, that is, held by descent, or *acquits*, which means being acquired by industry or other means.

Communitè de bien is partnership in property by marriage; for the wife, by this law, becomes an equal partner in whatever the husband possessed before and acquires after marriage, and the husband is placed in the same position in respect to the wife's dowery property. This law might operate as well as most general laws, if both *husband* and *femme* closed the *finale* of life on the same day; but very unhappy consequences have arisen when the one died before the other. For instance, when the wife dies before the husband, the children may claim half of all the father's property, as heirs to the mother; and the mother's relations have often persuaded, and sometimes compelled them, so to do.

It would be almost impossible to have formed a law pregnant with more prolific causes of family discord, or more destructive of that affection which always ought to subsist between parents and children. So fully, in fact, do the most simple *habitans* apprehend the unhappy operations of this law, that scarcely any of them marry without an antinuptial contract, which bars the *communitè de bien*.

The *dot*, or dowery, is the property which the wife puts into the *communitè de bien:* movable or immovable property, falling to her by descent, is a *propre*, and does not me e in the *communitè*.

Dower, in Canada, is either customary or stipulated. The first consists of half the property which the husband was possessed of at the time of marriage, and half of all the property which he may inherit or acquire—of this the wife has the use for life, and the children may claim it on her death. If they be not of age, the wife's relations can take it out of the father's hands for them, and may compel him to sell his property to make a division. Stipulated dower is a portion which the husband gives instead of the customary dower.

The laws of Canada are in many respects good; they bear a resemblance to those of Scotland; and if they were not mixed up with the laws of England, they might operate in Canada much in the same way as the Scotch laws do in Scotland.

The revenue of Lower Canada amounts to about L.140,000, exclusive of an allowance for duties to Upper Canada. It arises principally from impost duties on articles of luxury, and partly from his Majesty's rents, which consist of the *droit de quint*, depending in amount on the frequency and value of the mutation of fiefs; of the rents of the king's ports at Sagunnay, Port Neuf, &c., and let to the Hudson's Bay Company as stations for the fur-trade; of the rents of the royal forges at St Maurice; of the monies arising from the Jesuits' estates, &c.

The public accounts for the year 1829, produced the following statement :—

The gross receipts of duties, &c., without any deduction, ...				L.172,091	2 2¾
Outstanding on bonds,	L.19,021	1	6		
Salaries, Commissions, &c.	8,774	17	10½		
Drawbacks, . .	403	15	0		
				L.28,199	14 4½
Net income paid into the Province Treasury,				L.143,891	7 10¼
Further expenses of collection and repayment of duties, . .	L.3,387	6	3		
Portion payable to Upper Canada, under Canada Trade Act,	31,209	19	9		
				L.34,597	6 0
Net available income of the province for the year, 1829, ...				L.109,294	1 10¼

The increase over last year, is L.15,194, 5s. 3¾d.

The revenues claimed by the crown as at its disposal, (termed appropriated,) amount to L.41,483, 3s. 9d.

In 1807, the gross revenue only amounted to L.31,000. In 1829, the House of Assembly voted L.35,000 for the improvement of roads alone. The revenue is appropriated by the legislature to the payment of the civil list, the execution of public works, to the encouragement of education, agriculture, trade, &c.

The principal officers on the civil list are the governor-general, lieutenant-governor, Lieutenant-Governor of Gaspè, Chief-Justice of Quebec and the Province, Chief-Justice of Montreal, six puisne judges, Provincial Judge of Three Rivers, Provincial

Judge of Gaspè, Provincial Judge of St Francis, attorney-general, advocate-general, solicitor-general, Judge of the Court of Vice-admiralty, receiver-general, provincial secretary and registrar, civil secretary to the governor, auditor-general of accounts, inspector-general of accounts, surveyor-general, the officers of the Executive and Legislative Councils and House of Assembly; French translator to the governor, printers to the government, masters and clerks in Chancery, inspector-general of the king's domain, and clerk of the land roll, auditor of land patents, grand voyers of the province, or chief inspectors of roads, &c., one for each district; post-master-general, surveyor-general of woods and forests, superintendent-general of the Indian department, storekeeper-general of the Indian department, commissioner for the sale and management of crown lands, superintendent of emigrants and settlers in the Canadas; commissioners of roads throughout the province, commissioners for the improvement of internal navigation, commissioner for the erection and repairing of public buildings, commissioners for exploring the country, and commissioners for the management of the Jesuits' estates. There are also various municipal officers in the towns.*

The roads in Canada along the St Lawrence were first opened through the seigniories by the *censitaires* or *habitans*, each of whom still repairs the road crossing his own farm. The expense of erecting bridges, and opening new roads, is principally defrayed by the money voted by the legislature, and

* Note B.

placed under the management of special commissioners. There are scarcely any public burdens; no taxes, nor poor laws. Whenever cases of distress occur, relief is afforded by benevolent contribution.

The militia laws are much the same as in Nova Scotia, and the Canadians are ever ready to observe them. Their officers are chiefly Canadians; and the *habitans*, who are drilled in their own language, attend to their orders without dispute or hesitation. Command them *au nom du roi*, and they may be led to any part of the province.

In 1828, the total strength of the militia of Lower Canada consisted of 81,649 men liable to march in case of invasion, divided into sixty-two battalions, and commanded by 2434 officers. There are also four companies of cavalry troops, and two battalions of volunteers, which, added to the militia, makes the effective force of the province about 85,000. The staff of the militia consists of the governor-general as commander-in-chief, three aides-de-camp, eight lieutenant-colonels, four majors, adjutant-general, deputy adjutant-general, assistant adjutant-general, paymaster-general, quarter-master-general, judge advocate-general, superintendent-general of hospitals, and surgeon-general.

The Indian department of Lower Canada consists of a chief-superintendent, under-superintendent, resident agent and secretaries, four residents, one clerk, four interpreters, one schoolmaster, and four missionaries.

The naval department of Lower Canada is almost

too trifling to notice, and consists of a small establishment at Isle aux Noix, on the Richelieu, near Lake Champlain, where there are a captain and lieutenant superintending.

There are also stationed in Lower Canada the greater part of three regiments of foot, two companies of artillery, and two companies of royal engineers.

The several departments connected with the army are the military secretary's office, in which there are also an assistant military secretary, and four clerks; quartermaster-general's department, the officers of which are, the deputy quartermaster-general, and two clerks; the governor and lieutenant-governor of the garrison at Quebec; the town-majors of Quebec and Montreal; a foot-adjutant and commandant at Isle aux Noix; a foot-adjutant at Coteau du Lac; a commandant at Quebec, at Montreal, and St Helen's.

The royal engineer department, the officers of which, stationed in Lower Canada, are a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, two captains, two lieutenants, with an assistant-engineer, twelve clerks of the works, three overseers, two master smiths, a master carpenter, a master mason, and a foreman of labourers.

The ordnance department has two ordnance storekeepers, two deputies, and eight clerks; and the barrack department has a barrack-master at each of the garrisons at Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, Coteau du Lac, William Henry, Chambly, Laprairie, and Isle aux Noix.

The commissariat department is superintended by

CHAPTER VI.

Configuration and General Aspect of Canada—Geological Structure—Organic Remains—*Steps*—Mineralogy—Western Region—Rocky Mountains, Climate, &c.

CANADA may be said to present the most extraordinary and grand configuration of any country in the world. From the eastern extremity of this vast region, rising abruptly out of the Gulf of St Lawrence, to the Rocky Mountains, the natural features of its lands and waters exhibit romantic sublimities and picturesque beauties, amidst the variety and grandeur of which the imagination wanders and loses itself, luxuriating among boundless forests, magnificent rivers, vast chains of mountains, immense lakes, extensive prairies, and roaring cataracts.

The mind, on sailing up the St Lawrence, is occupied under impressions, and with ideas, as varied as they are great and interesting. The ocean-like width of this mighty river where it joins the gulf,—the great distance (about 3000 miles) between its vast *débouché* and the source of the most westerly of its streams,—the numerous lakes, cataracts, and rivers, which form its appendages,—the wide and important regions, exhibiting mountains, valleys, forests, plains, and savannahs, which border on these innumerable lakes and rivers,—their natural resour-

ces,—their discovery and settlement, and the vast field thrown open in consequence for the enterprise, industry, and capital of mankind, are subjects so great, and so fertile in materials for speculative theories, as well as practical undertakings and gainful pursuits, that the imagination strives in vain to create an empire so grand and powerful as that to which the energy of succeeding generations will likely raise a country possessed of such vast and splendid capabilities as those of the Canadas.*

The natural aspect, configuration, and geological structure of Canada, exhibit the greatest diversity of appearance.

On the south side of the St Lawrence, from Gaspè to some miles above Point Levi, opposite Quebec, the whole country presents high mountains, valleys, and forests. These mountains appear equally as lofty as any of the Alleghany chain, of which range they form a part.

Their height has not, however, been ascertained, but they have been considered as lofty as the Pyrenees. I have seen various parts of their outline and summits rising in the interior, when I was on the sea, at least a hundred miles distant. The prevailing rocks are granite, in vast strata, but sometimes in boulders between the mountains and the shore; greywacke and clay-slate also occur, with limestone occasionally; and various other rocks, usually detached, present them-

* Note C.

selves. The mountains and valleys are thickly wooded:—the soil is productive along the banks of the St Lawrence; and, according to the usual indications of fertility in the valleys of the interior, equally fit for cultivation. The lower islands of the St Lawrence are mere inequalities of the vast granite strata which occasionally protrude over the level of the river. The Kamouraska Islands, and the Penguins in particular, exhibit this appearance; and in the parish of Kamouraska huge masses of granite rise into sharp conical hills, one of which is 500 feet high, with smooth sides, and scarcely a fissure.

At St Roch the post-road leads for more than a mile under a perpendicular ridge of granite, 200 feet high.

The north coast of the St Lawrence, below Quebec, exhibits trap rocks, clay-slate, various detached rocks, and granite occasionally; the latter is considered to prevail in the interior country, and particularly as forming the base of the mountains of Labrador, and of the country north of Quebec. Cape Tourment, thirty miles from Quebec, is a round massive granite mountain, about 1000 feet high, and a ramification of the rugged interior chain. The lands situated on the north shores of the St Lawrence, below the River Saguenay, are not near so high as those on the south coast; but their features are remarkably rugged and forbidding, and apparently nowhere fit for cultivation. Numerous small rapid rivers, frequented plentifully by salmon, roll from the moun-

tains over rugged channels, or foam over precipices into the St Lawrence.

Except in the bogs or marshes, rocks obtrude on the surface in all parts ; although the country is generally covered with wood, yet the trees are far from attaining the size of those on the south coast. In various parts I observed extraordinary deep fissures, from six inches to two feet wide, and apparently many feet deep, dividing the rocks as if they had been cracked by the action of fire, or some volcanic shock: intense frost may have been the agent. In many places these fissures, hidden from view by various creeping shrubs, formed the most dangerous traps. The Indians have told me that they have seen some of these rents several miles in length, about a foot broad, and from forty to fifty feet deep.

As we approach Quebec, a reddish, or dark clay-slate appears as the prevailing rock, and it forms the bed of the St Lawrence to Kingston and Niagara. Boulders of granite, limestone, sandstone, sienite, trap, and marble, occur as detached rocks in the same extensive region.

Above the Rapids of Richelieu, where the mountains commence retreating to the south and north, a flat country prevails, until we reach Queenston Heights. The greater part of the soil of the low lands is apparently of alluvial formation; and twenty to fifty-five feet rise of the waters would nearly cover the whole country between the Alleghanies and the high lands of the north. The exceptions to this general rule are, the Beleoil mountain, the highest summit

of which is about 1200 feet high. This mountain is an abrupt termination of a branch of the Green Mountains, and divides the waters of Lake Champlain from the sources of the Rivers St Francis and Yamasca. The mountain to which Montreal owes its name, the rocks of which appear to be principally of the trap family, accompanied by limestone, is another exception. Whenever rapids occur, we find the elevation of the country increasing, and limestone generally accompanying the prevailing rocks. The step of country formed by the calcareous ridge, which commences at Queenston Height, and which rests on a bluish clay-slate, is elevated about 350 feet above the shores of Lake Ontario; and the upper country, the base of which is limestone, is generally level, until we approach the high lands between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. This calcareous region abounds in organic remains, some of which, particularly the serpents in nests, are very rare and beautiful;* and in many places petrified horns and bones of wild animals, shells, trees, &c., have been frequently dug up. The limestone rocks of the Manitoulin Islands, in Lake Huron, contain similar organic remains to those that occur abundantly in the limestone rocks which prevail as the base of the Island of Anticosti. Along the north coasts of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, granite predominates. Some distance back from the lakes and rivers, *steps* or *ramps*, which are abrupt elevations, occur. They seem to have formed, at some

* Note D.

period, the banks or beaches along which the waters flowed. Behind the first of these steps table land generally extends for some distance, or until a second step and flat land occur, sometimes followed by a third and fourth ramp. These appear at Malbay, Lake St Peter, Lake Huron, and at many other places. Indications of volcanic eruptions appear at St Paul's Bay, and on the mountains north of Quebec. The great earthquake of 1663 is said to have overturned a chain of freestone mountains 300 miles long, north of the St Lawrence, and levelled them with the plains. We cannot, however, consider the authority we find in the journals of the Jesuits as sufficient to establish this circumstance, when the configuration of the adjoining country has not apparently been disturbed.

Canada is considered rich in minerals. Iron of the best quality has been found in great abundance. Silver has been picked up in small quantities; lead, tin, and copper, have been discovered in several places. We are, however, still ignorant of the mineral riches, and even of the geology of these regions.* The researches of the Montreal Natural History Society, lead us to expect important discoveries. The following extract from the Canadian Review, enumerates most of the minerals that have been discovered:—"The mineralogy of the Canadas has hitherto been almost altogether neglected; but the imperfect researches which

* Coal has not yet been discovered in Canada, although it is found in such extensive fields in the lower province.

have been made, prove it to be rich in the scarcer kinds of minerals, and not deficient in those applicable to economical purposes. Petalite, one of the rarest substances in the world, and remarkable for containing the newly discovered fourth alkali, lithia, was sent from York, in Upper Canada, in 1820, by Dr Lyon, surgeon to the forces. Beryl is found at Lake of Woods; Labrador felspar (Lake Huron); axinite (Hawkesbury Ottawa, the only place in North America); aventurine (Lake Huron); amethyst (Lakes Superior and Huron); apatite, a phosphate of lime, (Fort Wellington,) may be added among others; Aragonite (Laclina); strontian, in magnificent forms, (Erie, Ontario, &c.); schorl (St Lawrence); precious and manganesian garnet (River Moira, Ontario, &c.); cornelian, agate, zeolite, prehnite, barytes and fluor spar (Lake Superior); brown and green cocolite (Montreal and Hall Ottawa); olivine, augite, (Montreal); staurotide (Rainy Lake); and the very rare authophyllite (Fort Wellington). Marbles and serpentine are quite common. Plumbago, ores of antimony, lead, iron, and copper, are frequently met with. The northern and western shores of Lake Ontario abound in salt springs, some of which (Stony Creek and St Catherine's) are very productive, even with the employment of small capital. The north shore of Lake Erie exhibits immense beds of gypsum, the principal of which is in Dumfries, and quarried largely for the purpose of agriculture."

The region between Lakes Michigan and Superior and the Rocky Mountains, is generally flat; and in

this territory are situated the largest savannas, or prairies, in the world. The lands separating the rivers which fall into the lakes of Canada, and those of the Mississippi and Missouri, are generally low, and sufficiently overflowed in spring to allow a communication with canoes.

The Rocky Mountains are vast chains, extending north and south from Mexico to the Arctic regions, and dividing the waters that fall into the Atlantic rivers from those of the Pacific. These mountains are considered from 9000 to 11,000 feet high; and, where crossed between the latitudes of 44° and 48° N., covered for from forty to sixty miles over with eternal snow.

The western regions are but imperfectly explored. It would appear, from the outlines of some of the old French maps, that the remote parts of Canada were better known before the conquest of Quebec than since that period. Scientific men were employed to explore Canada by the French authorities; but their journals and maps were removed from the colony before it came under the power of England, and lodged in the "Bureau de la Marine" at Paris.

The forests and wild animals of Canada, I have already described in a former book.

The temperature of the climate of Canada is much colder at Quebec, and along the river St Lawrence to the eastward, than at Montreal or Upper Canada. The duration of winter is frequently two months longer. Severe frosts commence in November, and ice seldom disappears until the last week of April. In

summer the heat is as intense as in the United States, and very oppressive ; but when the wind shifts to the north, the temperature, particularly below Quebec, changes suddenly, often from 120° Fahr. to 60° or under. These transitions are not, however, frequent. The average summer heat in the shade is about 82° ; it is sometimes 104°. Snow falls in great quantities at one time, but long periods of the clearest frosty weather intervene between the snow storms. In 1790, mercury froze at Quebec. It is often 60° Fahr. below the freezing point ; 20° is about the average. Some years ago, an officer of the royal artillery tried several experiments at Quebec with bombshells, in order to ascertain the expansion and consequent power of freezing water. The shells were nearly filled with water, and an iron plug was driven into the fuse hole by a sledge-hammer ; the temperature was 51° Fahr. below the freezing point. When the water froze, the plug was forced out with great velocity and a loud report. When a plug was used that had notched springs, which expanded within the cavity, the shell always burst. A plug two and a half ounces weight, was thrown four hundred and fifteen yards, with the elevation of the fuse axis at 45°. Rocks, particularly those of the calcareous, schistous, and sandstone order, are often rent by the expansive force of intense frosts.

The climate of Montreal and the upper country, is nearly in every respect similar to the general system and theory of the climate, as treated of in the first volume of this work.

Canada is eminently blest with a remarkably clear atmosphere. The sky at Montreal, both in summer and winter, is beautifully bright. I have often heard it compared to that of the Mediterranean. Rains in summer and autumn are far from being frequent, but they fall in great quantities at one time. Thunder storms are remarkably violent, but of short duration. Squalls of wind are frequent on the lakes and rivers, in the vicinity of high lands. Strong gales of wind occur in Canada about the 20th of October. They sometimes, particularly on the great lakes, resemble perfect hurricanes.

Volney observes, that there is a correspondence of time and action between these hurricanes and those of the Gulf of Mexico; and Dr Franklin, with his usual sagacity, on remarking this periodical disturbance of the air, inferred that the *focus* of the movement existed in the Gulf of Mexico.

CHAPTER VII.

Coast of the River St Lawrence from Gaspè to Quebec—Bay of Seven Islands—Trinity—Manicougan Shoals—Port Neuf—South Shore—Cape Gaspè — Anse de l'Etang — Matane—Mitis—Rimouski—Bique—Trois Pistoles—Appearance of the South Coast—Roads, Travelling—Canadian Parishes—Auberges—Churches—*Habitans*' Houses—Rivière de Loup—Kamouraska—St Anne's—St Thomas'—*Habitans* ou Sunday—Moral Character—Point Levi—North Coast—Tadousac—Saguenay—Malbary — St Paul's—Islands in the St Lawrence—Orleans, &c.

THE coast and interior country of Lower Canada, from Cape Gaspè to the Paps of Matan, a distance of about 200 miles, still exhibits the same primeval wildness which this portion of the western world presented to Cartier 296 years ago. The northern shores, from Labrador to Tadousac, are equally desolate; and, if we except the king's posts at Seven Islands' Bay and Port Neuf, we discover no signs of art or civilisation, no traces of the industry or enterprise of man. A few miserable wandering Montagnez Indians, and a few transient fishermen and furriers, are the only human beings that frequent this cold, desert, and barren region. The vast country which lies between the lower shores of the St Lawrence and Hudson Bay, seems, indeed, unfit for any other inhabitants, save the ruthless Esquimaux, or hardy Mountaineer Indian, who wander along its

waters, or traverse its wastes; yet the vast swarms of salmon that frequent its rivers, and the remarkably fine fur of its wild animals, offer sufficient temptations to the adventurous, and sources of profit to the industrious.

The Bay of Seven Islands lies on the north coast of the St Lawrence, which at this point is seventy miles broad. It derives its name from seven high rugged islands which lie at its entrance. There is deep water close to these islands, which rise abruptly out of the sea, and from ten to fifty fathoms depth of water in the bay. It forms within, a large round basin; and the lands at its head appear sinking low in the horizon, while those on each side are high and rugged. Here there is a king's post rented to the Hudson Bay Company. Humpback whales enter this bay, in which they are sometimes pursued, both by the American and Gaspè whalers.

The best track, sailing up the St Lawrence, nearly as far as Tadousac, especially with contrary winds, is along the north coast. The current always runs so strongly down along the south shore, that it can only be stemmed with a fair wind. The shores of Anticosti are flat, but the soundings are regular; and lighthouses are erecting on the east and west points of this dangerous island. The Labrador coast may be safely approached. It affords harbours, and excellent anchorage, and the tides are nearly regular. Trinity, a little below Point des Monts-Pilès, on which there is also a lighthouse erecting, is a place where ships anchor in proceeding up the St Law-

rence with a head wind.* Pilots usually meet vessels between Point des Monts and Cape Chat, which is nearly opposite, on the south side. There are two formidable dangers off the north shore, between Point des Monts and Tadousac. The first is a rocky shoal, extending several miles off and along the coast at Manicougan. Several ships have been

* On my last sailing up the St Lawrence, we anchored here for some days, close alongside of several ships. One of these was a passenger ship from Ireland; and a most miserable appearance did the poor beings make who were on board of her. Squalid poverty, aggravated by being crammed thickly together in the ship's hold, presented as deplorable a picture of human wretchedness as I have ever witnessed. Their total want of money, or requisite necessaries, and their utter ignorance of the country to which they were going, or how they were to procure the means of living, afforded a subject of abundant interest for the destinies of families, consisting of old men and women, middle-aged, and young children. On board of another ship, which had sailed from London, there were a few English passengers; among whom I observed a genteel-looking woman, walking on the deck, with three pretty and neatly dressed children. She seemed, however, to have known better days, and to have been forced from a once comfortable home by the pressure of poverty; at least, the care-worn countenance of her husband, who came on deck soon after, justified this conclusion; for his wife was rather cheerful than otherwise. She certainly bore her troubles, whatever they might be, with more firmness than her husband; and I have seldom observed a more unaffected or interesting exemplification of the sacred affection of the mother and wife, than in this woman. She had suffered greatly from sea-sickness; but trusted that soon after their arrival at Quebec, they would be settled in a tolerably comfortable way in some part of Canada.

They were also ignorant of the country, and formed their conclusions according to English habits and occupations. Thousands similarly situated leave the United Kingdom for North America.

stranded on it. The other is a lesser danger, lying off Point de Mille Vaches, a little above the king's post at Port Neuf. There is no further danger until we pass the mouth of the River Saguenay; and I therefore return to sketch a brief description of the south coast of the St Lawrence, which has hitherto been neglected in all the English accounts of Canada that I have seen. The counties of Gaspè, Rimouski, and Kamouraska, comprehending a valuable territory, extending about 300 miles along the River St Lawrence, are less known in England than Kamschatka.

Cape Gaspè is rather high, and its rocky cliffs are perpendicular. Cape Rosier is low, but the land behind rises into high round hills; and the whole is covered with trees of various kinds. The coast preserves this character as we proceed up the St Lawrence, and generally slopes, covered with trees, to the water's edge. At Great Fox River there are a few fishermen; and at Anse de l'Etang, twelve leagues above Cape Gaspè, there is a small harbour for shallops. It may be known by a remarkably high wooded conical hill on the east side, and by a beach with a few huts and stages on the west. Some of the *habitans* of the parish of St Thomas, on the River de Sud, thirty miles below Quebec, frequent this place during the cod-fishing season. The river issues from several lakes, one of which is only half a mile through the woods from the fish stages.* Fishermen also fre-

* I landed at this place, and travelled up to the lake. The river descends from it by three small but beautiful falls. The mountains, which are richly wooded, rise so high on each side

quent Grand Vallée des Monts, Magdalene, Mount Louis, St Anne's, and Cape Chat, during summer; but I believe there are no permanent settlers, (unless it be at St Anne's,) until we reach Matane. As far, however, as I could judge of the country, it appears to possess sufficient advantages for settlements. The shortness of the summer, and the intense cold of winter, may form strong objections to agriculture; but the severity of its climate differs little from that of the thickly settled agricultural parishes about 200 miles farther up than Cape Gaspè, nor is it so cold as many parts of the corn countries of Russia. The soil in the valleys is fertile, and the uplands appear also to be fit for cultivation. The trees, growing on the hills, and on the sloping high lands, facing the coast, if used in ship-building,—and there are abundant convenient situations for bulding vessels,—would be found far more durable than those which grow in the valleys or along the rivers and lakes of the upper country. The "scrubby oak" of the hills, as it is called, is considered as durable as the best English oak. It is admirably adapted for the timbers of a ship, and of sufficient size for the construction of large vessels.

The following account of Matane, Grand and Petit Mitis, and Rimouski, which may be considered the lowest down of the established settlements on the St

and about the head of the lake, that although it is several miles long, it appeared little more than a large pond. The *habitans* had been rather successful in fishing, and they gave us some excellent small cod, and choice pieces of smoked halibut.

Lawrence, I have lately received from a friend,* who visited those places since I was in Canada :—

" In proceeding up the River St Lawrence, after passing Cape Chat, the first place of remark is *Matane* River, known by a large square white house, and a long barn, level on the top. Ten leagues farther up is Little Matis, or Mitis, situated on a long, low, flat, rocky point, with several white houses, extending about a cable's length to the north-east. This is noticed as a guide to the anchorage at Great Mitis, which is about six miles farther to the westward. On opening the bay, (say close in shore,) a square house will be first observed, near the water side; a mile farther, in the south-west corner, up the bay, in the same view, will be seen the upper part only of a house, which is the establishment of Great Mitis. A vessel may close in with Little Mitis Point into six or seven fathoms water, and turn for Great Mitis, by the lead, in from five to eight fathoms. Should the vessel be turning up on the north shore, or in mid channel, Mount Camille, which will be seen, should be brought to bear north-west by south, which will lead from sea to the bay As this place has only recently been visited to any extent, I have thought it worth while entering into the particulars.

" At Little Mitis the late John M'Nider, Esq., of Quebec, a gentleman of considerable enterprise, esta-

* Nathaniel Gould, Esq., of Tavistock Square, London, who lately visited the United States and the Canadas, for the purpose of ascertaining the actual condition and resources of those countries.

blished a fishery, with the intention of supplying Quebec, during the summer, with fresh fish, as well as for curing. Notwithstanding the abundance of fish, the scheme did not answer, and we believe has been attended with considerable loss ; the fish in this part of the River St Lawrence has been found to be capricious in its haunts, perhaps annoyed by the small whales and porpoises which abound.

" Mr M'Nider also endeavoured to settle and clear the seigniory for cultivation ; and many settlers proceeded thither at different times, but the spirited proprietor died in 1829, without having reaped those benefits from his exertions which might have been anticipated ; the situation, perhaps, not offering first-rate advantages as regards climate, or (at present) proximity to markets for surplus produce.

" About five miles farther west is Grand or Great Mitis ; this place has lately risen into notice by the erection of saw-mills by Mr William Price of Quebec, by whom a very considerable outlay has been made ; and by the constant employment afforded by the mills, and felling of logs in the winter, an active little settlement has been created.

" The mills are on a fall of the River Mitis, about three miles up ; this river, like the Chaudiere, near Quebec, and most others on the south side of the St Lawrence, comes tumbling over rugged rocks of considerable elevation, as it approaches the estuary. The river itself is a small stream, greatly impeded with rapids when not swelled by freshets ; and it has been found necessary to dam the river with wicker

work and mud for a considerable distance, to keep back water enough to float the logs down to the mill. From the mill the deals are floated down a *dall* or *trough* to the basin for shipment, part of the distance being cut through soil and rocks fourteen feet deep. The deals produced are spruce and a very superior yellow pine.

" At about half a mile from the *débouché* of the river is a small rocky island, by which a secure and picturesque basin is formed. Over the sand bar at the entrance of the basin there is fourteen or fifteen feet at low water, and ample room for two vessels to lie stem and stern of each other. The tide flows exactly at one o'clock at full and change, and rises from twelve to fourteen feet. The channel is now marked with buoys into the basin.

" With a ship of great draught of water it is advisable to lie in six fathoms at low water, with the house at the east side of the River Mitis open to the eastward of the island in the bay, so that the river may be seen between them. The high land of Bic will then be just clear of Point Osnelle, some of the houses of Little Mitis will be seen, and Mount Camille will bear SSW. by compass ; in such a mooring the swell is broken before it comes in by the shore. The ground will be found excellent for anchorage, being clay ; and, with one anchor to the eastward and another to the westward, the vessel will ride in perfect security. A vessel of smaller draught may go within five fathoms.

" From hence, along the shore, will be observed, at

great distances, the small white houses of the *habitans;* in general, however, occupied by pilots or fishermen, who have cultivated small patches of the land around them. Occasionally, when, from a wet summer, the harvest of the westward has failed, these small farmers reap a benefit by the greater backwardness of their seasons.

" The House of Assembly of this province lately voted money for the completion of the road from Quebec hitherto, as well as for opening a communication with Miramichi and St John's, New Brunswick; and, during the last season, considerable progress has been made in them.

" At Rimouski are saw-mills, recently erected by Mr Price of Quebec. The locks and dam by which the head of water for the mills is kept up at the mouth of the little river Rimouski, are of considerable extent, and executed with great boldness. The timber cut down here, although so near to the yellow pine of Mitis, is all red pine, which, though small in size, is of excellent quality.

" Ships bound to the anchorage here should endeavour to close in with the land about Point au Père, or Father Point, (on which are the numerous white houses of the pilots,) into six or seven fathoms, and then steer due west, for about three miles, for the body of St Barnaby's Island, until the extreme eastern point (on which is a large round stone) bears, by compass, WNW. about three-fourths of a mile, in four and a half fathoms at low water. Rimouski church will then bear about SSW., and a round bluff island be-

tween St Barnaby's and the main WSW., and Father Point E. by N. As the water shoals gradually towards St Barnaby's Island, ships of light draught of water may go something nearer, taking care to allow for three or four feet sand in the event of a north-east gale. With westerly winds, which generally prevail, this is a most smooth and secure anchorage. Ships intending to load here should moor NW. and SE., with not less than sixty fathoms each way, so as to have an open hawse to the NE. Ships coming to anchor off the west point of Barnaby's Island, will find a most secure anchorage from east and north-eastwards in four fathoms at low water, having the east end of Bique Island at W. by N., the point of land from Bique at W. by S., the west point of Barnaby bearing NE. and by N. half a mile."

From Rimouski we may ride or drive in a wheeled carriage through all the Canadian parishes. At Bique there is good anchorage; but the coast, nearly as far up as Trois Pistoles, is steep and iron-bound. Small rocky islets rise along the river from two to three miles off the shore, from which mud flats, nearly dry at low water, and producing a long marine weed, (*eel grass*,) extend about the same distance from the coast as the islets. These mud flats occur along the St Lawrence wherever there are eddies, and particularly within the small islands that lie between the channel and the shore. We observe this particularly at Trois Pistoles and Green Island, at the Pilgrims and at Kamouraska. They are formed of deposits car-

ried down by the river, and generally repose on flat rocks. The islets are all rocky.

The River St Lawrence, and the whole country, from the lowest parishes to Quebec, unfold scenery, the magnificence of which, in combination with the most delightful picturesque beauty, is considered by the most intelligent travellers who have visited this part of Canada, to be unequalled in America, and probably in the world. Niagara comprehends only a few miles of sublimity. The great lakes resemble seas; and the prospects which their shores, like those of the coasts of the ocean, afford to our limited visual powers, although on a grand scale, fall infinitely short of the sublime views on the St Lawrence, below Quebec.

Here we have frequently, as we ascend the eminences over which the post-road passes, or as we sail up or down the St Lawrence, prospects which open a view of 50 to 100 miles of a river from ten to twenty miles in breadth. The imposing features of these vast landscapes exhibit lofty mountains, wide valleys, bold headlands, luxuriant forests, cultivated fields, pretty villages and settlements, some of them stretching up along the mountains; fertile islands with neat white cottages; rich pastures and well-fed flocks; rocky islets; tributary rivers, some of them rolling over precipices, and one of them, the Saguenay, bursting through an apparently perpendicular chasm of the northern mountains; and, on the surface of the St Lawrence, majestic ships, brigs, and schooners, either under sail or at anchor, with pilot boats and river craft in active motion.

This beautiful appearance, however, changes to a very different character in winter; and, late in the fall of the year, a dark stormy night in the River and Gulf of St Lawrence presents the most terrific, wild, and formidable dangers.

In winter the river and gulf are choked up with broken fields of ice, exhibiting the most varied and fantastic appearances; and the whole country on each side is covered with snow; and all the trees, except the stern fir tribes, are denuded of their foliage.

The south shores of the St Lawrence are thickly settled by the descendants of the French, who at different times emigrated to Canada; and the manners and customs of their ancestors are tenaciously and religiously preserved by the Canadians, or *habitans*, more particularly in this part of Canada, where they have held little intercourse with the English. The villages and parishes have a general similarity of appearance; and although some of them are more extensive, and much more populous than others, yet one description is sufficient for all.

We cannot but be pleased and happy while travelling through them. They assuredly seem to be the very abodes of simplicity, virtue, and happiness. We pass along delighted through a beautiful rural country, with clumps of wood interspersed, amidst cultivated farms, pastures and herds; decent parish churches, and neat white houses or cottages. The inhabitants are always not only civil, but polite and hospitable; and the absence of beggary, and of the squalid beings whose misery harrows our feelings in the United King-

dom, is the best proof that they are in comfortable circumstances. Thefts are rare, and doors are as rarely locked. You never meet a Canadian but he puts his hand to his hat or *bonnet rouge;* and he is always ready to inform you, or to receive you in his house; and if you be hungry, the best he has is at your service.

The manners of the women and children have nothing of the awkward bashfulness which prevails among the peasants of Scotland, nor the boorish rudeness of those of England. While we know that each may be equally correct in heart, yet we cannot help being pleased with the manners that smooth our journeys; and often have I compared the easy obliging manners of the Canadian *habitans* with the rough "What d'ye want?" of the English boor, or the wondering "What's your wull?" of the Scotch cotters.

At the *auberges*, or inns, many of which are post-houses, we find civility, ready attendance, and have seldom to complain of what we pay for. The post-houses, which are established along the main roads, are regulated by an act of the Provincial Parliament; and the *maitre de poste* is obliged to keep a certain number of horses, caleches, and cabrioles, ready at all hours of the night or day, for the accommodation of travellers. There is seldom any delay; fares are fixed by law; there is nothing to pay the driver, and a paper is given, stating the charge from stage to stage, which is, for a caleche or cabriole, in which two can travel, fifteen pence per league. In travelling, we

now and then meet a cross erected at the side of the road, on a spot to which some trifling legend is attached. In some places we see large plaster casts of the crucifixion, under a wooden canopy, supported by four tall posts. I observed one of these in the middle of a marsh, near the post road below Kamouraska.

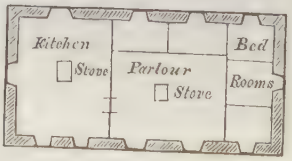
The house of a captain of militia is always distinguished by a tall flag-staff near it, painted red, or with circles of white, red, blue, or black.

The priest's house is always close to the church; and you never see him except in his sacerdotal robe. Enter his house, and you are welcome; nor will he let you depart hungry.

The parish church, with a pretty, bright, tinned spire, and sometimes with two, is a striking characteristic feature, which occurs at intervals of from four to eight miles, along the banks of the St Lawrence. The elevation seldom deviates from the following outline:

The houses of the *habitans* are sometimes built of stone, but generally of wood, and only one story high.

The walls outside are whitewashed, which imparts to them, particularly in summer, when almost every thing else is green, a most lively and clean-looking appearance. Each contains a large kitchen, one good sittingroom, and as many sleeping or bedrooms as may be judged requisite. The garret is generally used for *lumber*, and seldom for bed-places. Some of the houses have verandas, and an orchard and garden is often attached; near the house there is always a clay-built bake-oven, and a well; from the latter the water is drawn by means of a lever. The elevation and ground-plan of a family house is generally the same as the following outlines. Those of a young married couple generally want the sleeping apartments at the end furthest from the chimney.



The sittingroom or parlour, and bedrooms, are lined with smoothly planed boards, and painted with blue, red, green, yellow, &c.; and, according to our ideas, in very bad taste, but according to Jean Baptiste's* fancy, very fine and *bien joli;* and why not, if he be happy in the idea? Wax and brass images of the virgin and child, or of the crucifixion; and pictures of grim saints, the madonna and child, &c., all of the cheapest and most common kind, are hung round the room; and one middle-sized and several common looking-glasses, and a common clock, are seldom wanting. Sometimes we observe a looking-glass and picture, which, from their curious wrought frames, must be from one to two hundred years old. There is also one or more cupboards, or *boufettes*, in the room, which exhibit common glasses, decanters, cups and saucers, &c., and generally a large punch-bowl, for the purpose usually of making *egg nog*,† or milk punch.

The geese raised on their farms afford sufficient feathers for beds; and the *habitans* are never without them. Their sheets and blankets are rather coarse, but manufactured by themselves of the fleeces of their sheep, and of the flax they cultivate.

The barns and cattle-houses are plain oblong build-

* Jean Baptiste is as frequently a *nom de guerre* for Canadian *habitans*, as John Bull is for the English, or Saunders for the Scotch.

† *Egg nog*, or, as Jonathan terms it, *flip*, consists of eggs and sugar beat up together, to which is added a little water or milk, and as much spirits as will be equal to a quarter of the whole. This is a common treat among the Canadians.

ings. The farms run parallel with each other: pole fences occasionally separate them, and from ten to fifty arpents of each are cleared and cultivated. The post-road runs across them all, and each *habitan* keeps his own portion in repair.

The most populous or important parishes or fiefs below Quebec, or at least those which arrested my attention most as a traveller, are Rivière de Loup, Kamouraska, St Anne's, and St Thomas'.

The saw-mills, erected on a great scale at an immense expense, on the Rivière de Loup, by Mr Caldwell, are well worth visiting.

Kamouraska, during summer and autumn, is a very delightful spot. It is the watering-place of Canada, and is frequented, during the bathing season, by families from Quebec and Montreal. A steam-boat plies between it and Quebec. There are several inns here, but the most commodious and comfortable, when I visited the place, was kept by an Englishman (Croft), in very fair style. It had hot and cold baths, to which sea water was conducted, attached to the hotel. The St Lawrence is twenty-two miles broad here, but above this its waters are no longer salt. Salmon and herring are caught at the mouth of the river. It is a small mountain stream with a fall, some distance, of thirty feet.

The parish or village of St Anne is also populous, and prettily situated on the River Orrelle. In front there is a wide shoal bay; and opposite, the high lands of Eboulemens frown in the distance over the St Lawrence. In the bay a porpoise fishery has long

been followed at little more expense than by driving a line of stakes placed close together in an oblique direction, so as to lead the porpoises over the shoals lying between the mouth of the Orrelle and a rocky ledge which juts into the St Lawrence four miles below. When the tide ebbs the porpoises are left dry. There are from nine to sixteen feet long, and yield about a ton of oil each. The seigneur claims one-tenth as his due. There is a cross planted on the ledge of rocks, which the priest sanctifies every spring, to invoke the presence of the porpoises, or, in other words, to bless the spot where a successful fishery is expected.

The parish of St Thomas, on the Rivière de Sud, is the most populous below Quebec. This river flows from the south, through a beautiful, extensive, fertile, and rather thickly settled country, and rolls over a ledge of rocks, twenty feet high, into the St Lawrence. It has several excellent bridges over it, and along its banks are many of the best cultivated farms in Lower Canada.

In the village there is a handsome, though plain, stone church, said to contain near 3000 persons. I had the opportunity of being at this church on a Sunday. Nothing could be more pleasing than the scene which presented itself. It was on a delightful calm summer morning ; the meadows, corn-fields, and woods, were as richly decked as imagination could well fancy, and the surrounding scenery as interesting as picturesque tourist could even wish. The whole creation was wrapt up in peaceful, but not solemn stillness;

for the lively verdure of the country, thickly decked with neat white cottages, and the smooth flowing beauty of the St Lawrence, with several tall ships carried along by the tide, banished every impression except those of the most happy admiration, while the spirits were just raised to that pitch of cheerfulness, in which neither volatility nor gloom has any share.

About 10 o'clock the roads leading through this extensive parish exhibited a decently dressed peasantry, clad chiefly in fabrics manufactured by themselves, of the wool, and flax, and leather, and straw, produced on their farms. A great number moved on with a sober trot, in caleches or cabriolets; others on foot; but no one disturbed the calm tenor of the day, farther than casual converse between two or three.

In church, if the most close and devout attention during, the whole service of mass, and the delivery of a short practical, but not argumentative sermon, which dwelt altogether on their moral conduct, without alluding to points of faith, be considered as general proofs of sincerity and piety, the *habitans* of this parish have undeniable claims to these virtues. I believe there is little difference to be found, in this respect, among the other parishes. If there be, I have failed to discover it; and admitting, as I have frequently heard, that they are religious by habit and imitation, rather than by conviction, no one who has travelled among them can deny that they are sincere, amiable, charitable, honest, and chaste. Let

us leave abstract points of Christian doctrine to theological disputants, and the raving of *new lights*, to the sectarians who disturb the settlements of Upper Canada, the United States, and the other colonies that I have attempted to describe, or to the fanatics of camp-meetings; but if we look for a more correct or moral people than the Canadian *habitans*, we may search in vain. A Sabbath morning in the Scotch parishes most remote from the towns, bears the nearest resemblance to a Sunday, before mass, in Canada.

The interval, however, between morning and evening service, differs, but not widely; for in both countries, those who do not return to their houses, spend the time in conversing on local incidents, or in communicating what news is gathered during the week. But the evenings of Sunday are far more cheerfully spent than in Scotland. The people of the parish often meet in small groups, or at each other's houses, for the sake of talking, and on these occasions they sometimes indulge in dancing.

A low belt of thickly-peopled country, lying between the St Lawrence and the high lands, extends from the Rivière de Sud until we arrive within a few miles of Point Levi, where the post-road ascends over a high eminence, from which we have a rich prospect of the Isle of Orleans; and, soon after, the city of Quebec, and the heights and citadel of Cape Diamond, burst suddenly into the view, and draw our attention from all other objects. Before I attempt, however, to describe Quebec, I will finish my

sketch of the lower country, by briefly describing the settlements on the north side, and the islands of the St Lawrence.

Tadousac harbour lies at the mouth of the Saghuny or Saguenay. It is well sheltered, sufficiently deep, and affords excellent anchorage. To it the first French adventurers who visited Canada resorted, and it continued for a long time to be one of the principal fur-trading posts. The old French post is still maintained, and occupied by the Hudson Bay Company; but the place is at present of little importance, in consequence of there being no settlements on the great river that flows past it into the St Lawrence.

Of this mighty river we know but little. Some of the accounts of the fur traders trace it to the foot of the mountains, between the Ottawa and Hudson Bay mountains; and it is deep and navigable for about ninety miles, when it is interrupted by a cataract of about fifty feet perpendicular. The vast body of water which it discharges is of sufficient force to influence the stream of the St Lawrence obliquely to the south. It flows through excellent lands, and a great timber country may be opened on this river. Commissioners are appointed for exploring it, under a provincial act. I extract the following sketch from an article lately sent me from Canada, written, I believe, by a gentleman on board of the schooner Gulnare, employed for some time past in surveying the St Lawrence. It was published in the official gazette at Quebec, and considered correct. The information it contains respecting a river along which

towns, villages, and settlements will assuredly rise; and in which the sons and daughters of industry and enterprise are as certainly destined to act their parts, cannot fail to be interesting :—

" On the next morning, we left our anchorage. As we approached the mouth of the Saguenay River, the wind died away, and we were obliged to come to anchor. We were strangers to its navigation ; and though one or two of our companions professed a knowledge of it, we found, nearly to our cost, that they were not to be trusted. After waiting till the ebb tide had ceased, we took advantage of a light wind that favoured us, and shortly found ourselves securely at anchor in the little harbour of Tadousac, at the mouth of this river.

" The view from our anchorage was of the most picturesque description. To the southward were the long reefs off each point of the entrance of the Saguenay, forming an effectual barrier to the waves of the St Lawrence, and affording security to the harbour. In the distance, was Red Island ; beyond it, Green Island ; and in their rear, the blue hills of the south shore. To the north-westward, up the Saguenay, precipice succeeded by precipice was seen in perspective, their bases washed by the dark deep waters of the river, over whose surface they cast their shadows, in gloomy, solemn grandeur. Near us was the little semicircular beach of bright sand, forming the bay or harbour of Tadousac. Rising immediately above this, a green terrace, on which stand the houses of the fur traders, ornamented in front with a row of

old guns, placed round the confines of a tolerable garden, more for the sake of appearance than for use. Above this terrace appears a ridge of white granite hills, on the other side of which is a small lake. The view in this direction is finally closed by mountains of granite, rising to the height of about 2000 feet.

" The astonishing depth of the Saguenay renders it one of the most extraordinary rivers in the world. It is the grand outlet of the waters from the Saguenay country into the St Lawrence, which it joins on its southern shore, at above a hundred miles below Quebec; and although only a tributary stream, has the appearance of a long mountain lake, for an extent of fifty miles, rather than that of a river. The scenery is of the most wild and magnificent description. The river varies from about a mile to two miles in breadth, and follows its impetuous course in a south-east direction, through a deep valley, formed by mountains of gneiss and sienitic granite, which in some places rise vertically from the water side to an elevation of 2000 feet.

" There is a feature attending this river, which renders it a natural curiosity, and is probably the only instance of the kind. The St Lawrence is about eighteen miles wide at their confluence, and has a depth of about 240 feet. A ridge of rocks below the surface of the water, through which there is a channel about 120 feet deep, lies across the mouth of the Saguenay, within which the depth increases to 840 feet; so that the bed of the Saguenay is absolutely 600 feet below that of the St Lawrence, into which

it falls—a depth which is preserved many miles up the river. So extraordinary a feature could only occur in a rocky country, such as is found in some parts of Canada, where the beauties of nature are displayed in their wildest form. The course of the tide meeting with resistance from the rocks at the mouth of the Saguenay, occasions a violent rippling, or surf, which is much increased, and exceedingly dangerous to boats, during ebb tide. The extraordinary depth of the river, and the total want of information concerning it, have given rise to an idea among the credulous fishermen, of its being in many parts unfathomable. This effect is admissible on uninformed minds, for there is always an appearance of mystery about a river when its water is even discoloured so as to prevent the bed from being seen; and the delusion is here powerfully assisted by the lofty overshadowing precipices of either shore.

"Following the course of the river upwards, it preserves a westerly direction to the distance of about sixty miles, in some parts about half a mile broad, in others expanding into small lakes, about two miles across, their borders being interspersed with a few low islands. In the narrow parts of the river, the depth, at the distance of a few yards from the precipice forming the bank, is 600 feet, and in the middle of the river it increases to nearly 900. It is, as yet, only known to the few fur traders who deal with the native Indians, and the salmon fishermen who frequent its banks."

From the mouth of the Saguenay to Mal Bay the

country is still in its primitive wild state; and wild indeed it is, in all the varied conceptions of the word. A row of sandhills, from twenty to forty feet high, stretches along near the river, in front of it. The mountainous seigniory of Mal Bay was formerly called the King's Farm; and here were thirty buildings when the English conquered Canada; but it afterwards dwindled into obscurity. Some time after the American revolutionary war, a Captain or a Major Nain, I forget which, was rewarded for his services with this high land seigniory, which was very little valued by the Canadians; but to him its worth was fondly associated with his recollection of the Caledonian hills. When he settled in this place, some four or five cottages only showed their humble roofs; it now contains about four hundred inhabitants. He passed the rest of his days in this village, and left a widow, who was not long since, and may still be, living. His daughters were married, and settled in the parish; and a son of his was an officer at the battle of Chrystler's Farm, where he was killed.

A road leads from Mal Bay to St Paul's Bay, over the bleak heights and through the village of Eboulemens. At St Paul's Bay, into which a mountain torrent falls, there is rather a crowded settlement, sheltered by the northern mountains; and at Le Petit Rivière, near it, the cultivated low land is so well protected from cold winds, that apples, equal to those of Montreal or Niagara, as well as peaches, cherries, and damsons, grow in abundance. The road from here passes over the mountain ridge of

Cape Tourment, (said to be 1800 feet high, I think 800 nearer the truth,) to the retired parish of St Joaichim, where there are lands and houses belonging to the Catholic seminary at Quebec, and a rather closely settled parish. We then pass through the villages of St Anne and Chateau Richer to the River Montmorency, across which, a little above the falls, there is a bridge, over which the main road leads and winds through the beautiful and populous village of Beauport, then, by a bridge over the River St Charles, to Quebec. Before we enter this city, I must, however, in order to finish this sketch, say something of the beautiful islands which lie below.

Green Island, which is well cultivated, and from which excellent butter is sent to Quebec, is six or seven miles long, and lies near the south shore, from which it is separated by shoal water and mud flats. Its east end, on which there is a lighthouse, lies about south-east from the mouth of the Saguenay; in a line with which stands Red Island, (a small islet,) from which a dangerous shoal extends; and here the navigation of the river becomes very intricate. The French always proceeded up on the north side; but since the English have possessed the country, the south has been preferred. Yet many say, that the north channel is by far the safest and best.

Hare Island, which is about ten miles long, and from which also dangerous ledges extend, lies in the middle of the river, about fifteen miles further up than Green Island. It has some excellent salt marshes, cultivable land, and herds of cattle. Passing by the

Pilgrims, and the Kamouraska Islets, we come to Isle Coudre, which lies close to the north coast, and in front of St Paul's Bay. It is about eight miles long, three broad, the soil fertile, and is one of the oldest settlements in Canada. Nearly opposite to it are the intricate shoals, among which the traverse, or south, channel winds. Between these shoals and Orleans, are the Goose and Crane Islands,—low, flat, in some places rocky, in others marshy, but inhabited, cultivated, and pretty. Near these, at the eastern end, the Pillars (rocks) rise abruptly out of the St Lawrence.

The Island of Orleans is about twenty miles long, and from four to five broad. Its upper end is five miles below Quebec, and on each there is a deep channel. Its soil is fertile; a belt of original wood extends from its eastern to its western extremities, between which and its shores, are corn-fields, orchards, pastures, and meadows, thickly speckled with the white cottages of the inhabitants, pretty clumps of wood, and here and there a parish church. Near the west point, in a small vale close to the shore, were built those mammoth ships, the Columbus and Baron of Renfrew; the largest masses in one body that human ingenuity or daring enterprise ever contrived to float on the ocean.*

* Note E.

CHAPTER VIII.

City of Quebec—Appearance from the River—Lower Town, Wharfs, *Hangards*, Streets, Houses, Upper Town, Public Buildings, English and Catholic Cathedrals, Churches, Nunneries, Jesuits' College, Market, Populace, Society, Canadian Gentry, Amusements, Summer, Winter, Classification of Ranks, Hotels, *Table d'Hôte*, Public Institutions, Literary and Historical Society, &c., Trades-people, Auctions, Walls, Fortifications, Citadel of Cape Diamond—Wolfe and Montcalm's Monument—View from Cape Diamond, &c.

THE city of Quebec, the capital of Canada, and the Gibraltar of America, stands on the extremity of a precipitous cape, in latitude 46° 54′ N., longitude 71° 5′ W.

The Island of Orleans, five miles below, divides the St Lawrence into two channels, each about a mile broad. Immediately opposite Quebec, where the river makes a sudden bend, it is little more than half a mile broad, but the depth of water is about twenty-five fathoms. Between this and the Island of Orleans is formed the splendid basin of Quebec,—somewhat more than five miles long, and about four broad in the widest part. On sailing up the river, we see nothing of the city until we are nearly in a line between the west point of Orleans and Point Levi. Quebec, and its surrounding sublimities, then burst suddenly into the vast landscape; and the grandeur

of the first view of this city is so irresistibly striking, that few who have beheld it can, I think, ever forget the magically impressive picture it presents.

An abrupt promontory, 350 feet high, crowned with an impregnable citadel, and surrounded by strong battlements, on which the British banners daily wave,—the bright steeples of the cathedral and churches,—the vice-regal chateau, hanging over the precipice,—the house-tops of the upper town,—the houses, wharfs, *hangards*, or warehouses, &c., of the lower,—a fleet of ships at Wolfe's Cove, and others at the wharfs,—steamers,—multitudes of boats,—several ships on the stocks,—the white sheet of the cataract of Montmorency tumbling into the St Lawrence over a ledge 220 feet high,—the churches, houses, fields, and woods of Beauport and Charlebourg,—mountains in the distance,—the high grounds, church, and houses of St Joseph, some Indian wigwams near Point Levi, with some of their bark canoes on the water, and vast masses of timber descending on the river from the upper country,—may impart to the fancy some idea of the view unfolded to the spectator who sails up the St Lawrence, when he first beholds the metropolis of the British empire in America.

On landing at Quebec, and ascending from the lower to the upper town, we pass through narrow streets, lined with old-looking houses, with small windows and iron shutters, built apparently in all the confusion of antiquity. The ascent, which is commanded by well-planted cannon, is either by a winding of Mountain Street through the city walls

near the Parliament House, or by a flight of steps called " Break-neck Stairs."

The lower town is the seat of activity and commerce, and stretches below the walls, from *Anse des Meres* along the foot of Cape Diamond, and *Saut au Matelot*, round by the St Charles to the suburb of St Roche. Most of the ships anchor above the town at Wolfe's Cove, where there is less rapidity of current, and where the timber rafts are landed for inspection. In this place are also the huts of the lumberers, and a few houses. The Custom's House and Exchange Reading-room, in which the English, colonial, and United States papers and periodicals are taken, and to which an excellent extensive library is attached, is in the lower town. The streets are exceedingly steep and dirty; in one place there is a descent by stairs from the head of Champlain Street to the *Cul de Sac*, of most fatiguing length. The most crowded part of the Old Town of Edinburgh is not more irregular or more confused than the lower town of Quebec, and particularly in that part which is immediately under the height crowned by the chateau. Between the lower town and the River St Charles there are extensive flats, dry at low water. The great rise of tide (about twenty-five feet) adapts these for the site of docks. The French contemplated building wet and graving docks in this place; and would, it is thought, have done so, had they remained masters of the country.

On arriving in the upper town from the lower, we find ourselves in a very different place; the streets

are rather narrow, but in general they are clean, and tolerably well paved. The houses are covered with tin; shingles are not allowed. Many of the buildings are, it is true, in the style of olden time, yet there is an air of respectability, a fashion, a *je ne scai quoi*, which at once tells us we are in a metropolitan city.

The public buildings are substantial rather than elegant. The Chateau de St Louis, the residence of the governor-general, is a huge plain baronial-looking building, projecting so far over the precipice of Cape Diamond, here 300 feet high, that the outer walls are supported by piers, much in the same manner as viaducts are. The principal apartments in this castle are large and comfortable. The view from the veranda is magnificent. There is a small garden attached to the chateau, and several buildings on each side the entrance. In front there is an open space, a kind of esplanade. Nearly opposite the gates stands the Protestant cathedral, a plain handsome modern edifice, with a beautiful spire, and near it stands the Court-house, both on the grounds formerly occupied by the monastery of the Recollet Friars, which was burnt down by accident. The Scotch kirk is rather a mean-looking building. The old palace of the former Bishops of Quebec, standing nearly over the gate leading from the lower town, is now the Parliament House of Canada. As a building, it is certainly much more imposing than our House of Commons. The magnificent palace of the Intendant-General, or Civil Governor of New France, was destroyed by Sir Guy Carleton, to prevent its being taken by General

Montgomery. Its site is occupied by stores and stables belonging to the engineer department.

The Catholic cathedral is a huge edifice, with a heavy dome and spire. Its interior exhibits all the imposing grandeur of the Romish churches. The altar is magnificent. Images and paintings line the walls; and lamps, showing glimmering lights, and attended by old women, are kept perpetually burning. It is open at all hours. We may always enter and walk through it silently. One or more priests attend daily to various duties, from a very early hour in the morning until evening. Making some remarks to a gentleman who accompanied me to view the interior of this cathedral, I was immediately checked by a meek-looking elderly priest, in his sacerdotal robes—"*Ne parlez pas ici, monsieur,*" said he; "*c'est la maison de Dieu.*" We may always observe beings kneeling along the aisles, or beside the columns, with their faces towards the altar; and as we pass along, we hear the half-smothered breathing of their devotions. At such a time, rather than during the pompous celebration of high mass, few, I believe, have ever found themselves within the walls of a spacious Catholic cathedral, that have not experienced a deeper feeling of reverence, and a more impressive consciousness of the presence of Omnipotence, than is usually experienced within the temples of Protestantism. This we know is not philosophy; but it is nature.

On Easter Sunday, and on some other feasts, especially the *Fête Dieu*, this cathedral exhibits ceremonies and solemnities widely different from the calm

spirit of devotion that prevails on week days. The bishop, and sometimes fifty priests, officiate during the celebration of high mass. The pompous procession; the chiming of the bells; and, in the cathedral, the loud solemn tones of the organ; the kneeling crowds; the silver censers; the incense; the splendour which surrounds the altar; and all the other various accompaniments of this high celebration, are infinitely more imposing than any religious ceremony to be witnessed in these days in England.

There are several other Catholic churches in the city, and one in the lower town, and one also in the suburb of St Roche.

There are also three nunneries here. The general hospital, which stands on low ground, in the midst of a beautiful meadow near the River St Charles, was founded by Vallier, the second Bishop of Quebec, in 1693. The nuns of this convent devote their care to sick persons of all religions. The Hotel Dieu was first established for poor nuns; at present, its usefulness as an hospital can scarcely be too much extolled.* The Convent of the Ursulines is the best provided for, and most numerously filled; but in this nunnery the inmates are more closely secluded from the world, although strangers are, by special permission, allowed to visit the interior; and several young girls, Protestants as well as Catholics, are admitted to receive instruction in reading, writing, and needlework. The nuns of Canada are not the use-

* Note F.

less beings that may be imagined. Although they have retired from the open world, yet as nurses to the sick admitted within their walls, or as the instructors of young girls, they are of much benefit to society. They also manufacture beautiful work-boxes, *reticules*, and some other articles, which they sell for the benefit of their respective convents. They form two classes, distinguished as *mères*, or mothers, *tantes*, or aunts. The first are generally of genteel family; the second, I was told, from among the daughters of the *habitans* and mechanics. We are generally told at Quebec, that the nuns seldom take the veil until they despair of getting husbands. This may be true, but I believe that few enter these convents, who are not as happy as they would be if they were out. Some few young girls have certainly sacrificed themselves to the whim or fanaticism of parents, or to disappointments of the heart. They are novices two years before they take the veil.

The strong quadrangular building which was formerly the College of the Jesuits, was, when occupied by them, the most spacious building in America.* It is three stories high; along each of these there was a long gallery, on each side of which were the private cells of the fathers. It contained a large public hall, in which seats were placed along the walls; and before the seats were the dining-tables. They never allowed women to reside among them.

* Founded in 1635, by Pere Reni Rohault. It will, it is said, contain 2000 troops.

They were either fathers or brothers: the latter were novices preparing for admission to the order. When the fathers dined, the brothers carried the dishes from the outer halls to the tables, for common servants were never admitted into the dining-hall; nor were the brothers ever permitted to dine with the fathers. At dinner, the fathers all sat down with their backs to the walls; and, in a pulpit opposite, one of them read aloud from some book during the repast; when strangers were invited, this observance was omitted, and animated conversation on general subjects, but seldom on religious matters, prevailed at the table.

In this building there were also several public halls and rooms, a library, laboratory, refectory, &c.; and an extensive orchard and kitchengarden were attached. The British government converted this edifice into barracks, for which purpose it has long been used. It is still in good repair. In front there is an open space, in the middle of which stands the market, an ugly wooden building, constructed in the worst possible taste, and equally inconvenient, although the job cost from L.6000 to L.8000.

This market, or rather the open space that surrounds it, is the place to see all the varied characteristics of the population of Quebec and its environs. In summer and autumn multitudes of horses and carts, with hay, wood, butcher's meat, fowls, heaps of wild pigeons, vegetables, fruits, flowers, &c., appear early in the morning, attended by the wives and daughters of the *habitans*, and a few squaws, in small

carts, from Indian Lorrette. Amidst these, we observe the officers of the civil government and those of the garrison, with the gentlemen of the learned professions, and the merchants, all scrambling for the luxuries of the market; and, thickly mixed among the thronged carts and horses, the noisy half-brutal carters of the town, with their wives and daughters, together with the *canaille* of the suburbs of St Roch. The brawling and vociferation in bad French, and broken English, that takes place, might well conjure up the confused spirits of old Babel. When we hear the loud angry squabbles of the carters and others, we expect an immediate fight, and look if the police be at hand; neither, however, is the case. The Canadian carter is not the pugnacious animal that the man of similar occupation in England is; and the quarrel that is apparently the most angry and noisy, is generally the soonest over. In winter, sledges bring in hay, grain, frozen carcasses of beef, pork, mutton, and whatever comes to market. Every article of luxury, except good fish, is abundant. The fish most esteemed is the poisson d'orèe, a kind of pickerel, but it is rare. Shad and salmon are sometimes plentiful, and a fish called after the river in which it is caught, Masquinongè, a species of pike, with a long hooked snout, is excellent eating. Bass, sturgeon, eels, and petite morue,* are also brought

* These are caught in vast quantities along the river, where they are left confined within the ice cracks, when the tide recedes—strange as it may appear, when thrown up, and frozen, the Cana-

to market, but cod seldom, unless Jonathan bring them across the country from the Atlantic.

The population of Quebec, including the suburbs, is a matter of dispute. Some have it 40,000, others less than 30,000. I consider it something over 30,000; more than two-thirds of the number are Canadian French.

The style of living, hours of entertainment, and the fashions, assimilate nearly with those of Halifax; but society is not by any means so well knit together as at the latter place. This arises principally from the English and Canadians not generally mixing with each other; and partly from the English having formerly assumed an arrogant superiority over the French: at a period, too, when the latter were far above the former in the scale of manners and acquirements which shed lustre over, and give a tone of well-bred gentility to, society. The difference of language has, it is to be regretted, not only preserved some of the old jealousies, but it has also been the great cause which has prevented an approximation of manners and habits. The Canadian gentry all over the province, consisting chiefly of the old noblesse and gentry, or their descendants, retain the courteous urbanity of the French school of the last century. They speak French as purely as it is spoken in Paris. Many of them, also, speak English fluently; and although their political jealousies may be ob-

dian horses will not only eat them, but they soon become remarkably fond of them.

jected to, yet their society is very agreeable, and not sufficiently courted by the English.

There are few amusements during summer. Active pursuits occupy all classes. Short excursions on the water, or pic-nic parties to Indian Lorrette, Lake St Charles, or the falls of Chaudiere, are occasionally made ; and sometimes excursions are extended down the river to Kamouraska, or up to Montreal, or as far as the Falls of Niagara. On the plains of Abraham, near the city, there is an excellent course, where races have been established for several years. Fishing and shooting afford abundant sources of sport.

In winter, when all the world at Quebec is idle, and when the navigation of Canada and trade of Quebec are bound in icy fetters, balls at the Chateau, assemblies in the town, *pic-nics*, and family parties are frequent. The inhabitants dress in summer as lightly as in Jamaica ; and in winter, both gentlemen and ladies require to be as well protected with muffs, tippets, fur caps and robes, as if they were in St Petersburg. Quebec may truly be said to have an Italian summer, and a Russian winter. Nothing can be more grotesque than the figures that drive out in carriolles or sledges, either on the ice to Isle Orleans, or on the snow-covered roads. On the ice these rides are pleasant enough ; but the roads are generally in such an uneven state with *cahots* (waves made in the snow by the low carriolles), that the sledges pitch something like a boat in a head sea.

The ice is seldom firm between Quebec and Point Levi ; and notwithstanding the intense frost, the

"habitans" cross in wooden canoes, hauling or pushing them forward, among the cakes of ice. When the ice does form, it is called a *pont*, and a kind of jubilee takes place on the occasion; but this does not happen once in ten years. In the spring, when winter breaks up, and the snow and ice melt, the streets are horrible.

Quebec is considered an extravagant place to live in, and it is so. This does not arise either from the scarcity or high price of articles of necessity or luxury, but from too expensive a style of living—too great a passion for show and fashion. Many families have been reduced to poverty in consequence.

Strangers meet with the most hospitable attention from those to whom they are introduced. This is indeed the case all over Canada. The grades of classification into which society is divided, may place a stranger sometimes in a situation not very pleasant. His rank in Canada may not depend on his character, or the society among which he lived in the United Kingdom, but more frequently on the accident of his introduction. If he settles either at Quebec or Montreal, and if he may unluckily have happened to be introduced to, and associate on his arrival with, a family who do not visit the Chateau, all the *élite*, especially the ladies, will, as long as he resides in Canada, disdain to breathe the atmosphere of any house he enters; while it frequently happens, that if both were in England, those who are not Chateau visitants would be the most respected. Circumstances truly pitiable have often been the consequence of

this ridiculous frailty. Families who have arrogated to themselves the supremacy in society, have too frequently been reduced to poverty, and humiliated to the necessity of being under pecuniary obligations to those whom they at one time considered both mean and contemptible. That rank and place in society must always be marked and preserved, otherwise respectability and order will cease to exist, few will deny. It is the folly and inconsistency of those who assume the *dictum* of exclusion, that render them ridiculous; and of whose laughable pretensions we hear so much when travelling in the colonies.

There are several taverns and hotels; one or two of the latter are very respectable and comfortable. Each has a *table d'hóte*, where all dine together; but private rooms may be had by those who wish for them. Gentlemen who expect to gain information on their travels, will profit much by dining at the *table d'hóte;* for there they will meet with intelligent men from all parts of the colonies, and from the United States.

The public institutions of Quebec are numerous. The French college is a substantial old building, with a garden attached. Before the conquest, none but students intended for the church were instructed at this seminary. At present, all are admitted indiscriminately. It has a principal and three professors; one each, for theology, rhetoric, and for mathematics and physics, and five regents of the humanity classes. Besides several minor French and English schools, and some Sunday schools, there is a national school

on a liberal foundation ; also a royal grammar school, and a classical academy.

A spirit for improving the mind evidently exists in this city. Some time ago, a royal institution was established for the advancement of learning within the province. The protestant bishop, Dr Stewart, is the principal ; the chief officers of the civil government, and the members of the legislature, are the trustees of this institution.

The literary and historical society of Quebec, which is also patronised by the government, deserves all praise. This institution is under the direction and management of the Chief Justice of Canada as president, four vice-presidents, corresponding, recording, and council secretaries. It is divided into four departments : viz. literature, general history, sciences, and the arts. The Quebec library contains a great variety of standard and interesting works. There is also an excellent library for the use of the garrison.

There are four newspapers of respectable pretensions published in this city. The old Quebec Gazette, now published twice a-week, was commenced in 1764, and printed in English and French. It was the public periodical under the immediate authority of government until 1823, when Mr Nielson, the proprietor and an intelligent member of the legislature, displeased the executive government ; and another paper, published weekly, assumed the same name under the governor's authority. The Quebec Mercury and the Star, are published twice a-week. Neither does Quebec want benevolent and useful associations.

The principal of these are—the Quebec Emigrant Society; Quebec Agricultural Society; Medical Society; Quebec Diocesan Committee of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge; Ladies' Society for Propagating Education and Industry in Canada; Ladies' Bible Society; Bible and Tract Society; Quebec Education Society, and the Fire Society.

Besides the Bank of Quebec, and a branch of the Montreal bank, there is also a savings' bank.

There are two or three distilleries, breweries, tobacco, soap, and candle manufactories. Several beautiful ships have been for many years built here; and we find such tradesmen as are usual in a city, but not all those of a manufacturing town. Here are brewers, distillers, carpenters, joiners, carriage-builders, smiths, saddlers, tanners, barbers, tailors, shoemakers, mill and wheelwrights, upholsterers, and those more important personages, players, fiddlers, dancing-masters, and tavern-keepers.

A great proportion of the British and other goods imported, are sold by auction; the Canadian shopkeepers, who seldom import goods from other countries, prefer buying their goods at public sales than by private bargains. Some of the shops are fitted up in a way which the Cockneys would call rather *stylish*; but, like the shops all over America, you find in most of them every variety of goods sold in the country: silks, lace, muslins, ribbons, crockeryware, and ironmongery; broad cloths and cutlery; saddles, and looking-glasses; spikes, nails, and spades; needles, thimbles, and pins.

What will ever render Quebec a position of the first and most mighty consideration to England, or to any power holding possession of the empire of the Canadas, and which fully justifies even the enormous outlays expended on its fortification, is its particular situation, and the extraordinary natural features of the spot on which it is founded. It is now absolutely impossible for a ship of any size to pass either up or down contrary to the permission of those who possess its garrison. Very large ships cannot go up to Montreal; nor are there any intermediate places of great commercial importance.

The citadel of Quebec, on the highest part of Cape Diamond, is a fortification not inferior to any in Europe, and commands every surrounding position. The old French walls were remarkably strong, but they have been nearly all destroyed on the land side, and replaced with others if possible still stronger, and constructed according to the more modern rules of defence. There are five gates, strongly defended, in the walls which surround the city, viz. St Louis' Gate, St John's Gate, Palace Gate, Hope Gate, and Prescott Gate, through which we ascend from the lower to the upper town. The armoury of Quebec is well worth visiting and examining. It is only inferior to that of the Tower of London.

On the west, and in front of the citadel, are the celebrated plains of Abraham, where Wolfe fought, conquered, and died; which, with many circumstances less known, but still splendid in the historical records of Canada, impart a classic interest to Quebec, to which

no other city in the Western World has a similar claim.

Although it was proposed, immediately after the conquest of Canada, to erect a monument on this spot to the memory of Wolfe, and although M. de Bougainville obtained permission at the same time from our government to place a monument in the Ursuline church in honour of Montcalm, yet seventy years had nearly passed away before this duty, which custom has made sacred, was fulfilled. At length an obelisk of appropriate grandeur was erected; and, with the chivalrous generosity and admiration due to heroes, it is dedicated to the "Immortal Memory of Wolfe and Montcalm."

The grandeur of the view from the citadel of Cape Diamond has been extolled by all that ever beheld it. The prospects from the castles of Edinburgh or Stirling have the greatest claims of any that I have seen to a comparison with it; but both fall far short of the magnificent views enjoyed from the summit of Cape Diamond. When we look down the St Lawrence, we have before us a sublime landscape, exhibiting from forty to fifty miles of one of the greatest rivers in the world, with tall ships, small vessels, and boats on its surface, and divided for twenty miles by the Island of Orleans; of which also, with all its interesting beauties, we have a bird-eye view. At the same time the southern coast presents villages, churches, cottages, farms, forests, and mountains in the distant outline. If we turn to the north and east, we have a vast amphitheatre, embosomed within lofty

mountains, and enriched and animated by the villages and churches of Beauport, Charlebough, and Lorrette, with the vale of the River St Charles, and a country decked with clumps of wood and richly cultivated farms. If we look below, we behold, some hundreds of feet underneath us, the lower town, with all its active accompaniments, and with crowds of ships at anchor in the cove, alongside the wharfs, and under sail. Opposite stands Point Levi and a populous country. Upwards, the view, although not extensive, is still grand. The country is bold and romantic, yet cultivated and populous; and the river exhibits the unceasing movements of steam-boats, sailing vessels, small boats, Indian canoes, and rafts of timber floating down the stream, and covered with men, women, children, and huts.

Description, however, can never do justice to this vast picture; nothing but a *panorama* painting can give those who have not beheld it a full idea of its splendid magnificence; and well would it remunerate those artists who have excelled in painting the enchanting delusions exhibited in panorama views, if they were to cross the Atlantic, and bring back to Europe a representation of that which is beheld from the citadel of Cape Diamond.

CHAPTER IX.

Environs of Quebec—St Roch—Road to Montmorenci—Falls—Patterson's Mills—Road to St Foix—Sillery—Jeune Lorette—Hurons—Cascades—Lake St Charles—Falls of the Chaudiere—River St Lawrence from Quebec to Montreal—Post Roads—Winter Travelling—Steam-Boats—New Liverpool—Rapids of Richlieu—Trois Rivières—Ursuline Convent—Abbé de Calonne—Forges of St Maurice—Lake St Peter—Delta—Fort William Henry—River Richlieu—Summer Residence of the Governor—Fort Chambly—St Jean—Isle Aux Noix—Rouse's Point—Lake Champlain—St Lawrence from Fort William Henry to Montreal.

On the low ground which lies between the walls of Quebec and the St Charles, a multitude of shabby, dirty-looking wooden buildings, inhabited by the lowest and most immoral of the *canaille* of Canada, form the suburb of St Roch.

In summer, one of the most pleasant rides or walks in the vicinity of the city, is over Scott's Bridge, and along the road leading amongst the cottages, orchards, and farms of Beauport, to the falls of Montmorenci.

The river of the same name with this cataract, flows down from the northern mountains, among woods and rocks, and then over rugged steps through a richly cultivated country, until within a few yards of the precipitous banks of the St Lawrence, where, in a breadth of fifty feet, it thunders over a perpen-

dicular ledge 220 feet high. In summer, the volume of water precipitated over this fall is greatly reduced. In spring particularly, and before winter sets in, the body of water hurled down is immense. A little above the falls, the river is crossed by a bridge ; and near the brink of the ledge there is a mill, frightfully, but securely pitched, the wheels of which are turned by the rapidity of the current. A stream has also been diverted from the river above the cataract, for the purpose of turning the wheels of Patterson's saw-mills, which are a little distance below. These mills are the largest in Canada, if not in America.

The road to St Foix, which leads along the heights, is also exceedingly interesting ; and more particularly so, if we turn down towards the St Lawrence into the beautifully secluded dingle of Sillery, once the abode of pious missionaries, established here a little after the first settlement of the country. This place, including four leagues north by one in breadth, was formerly given to the Hurons of Jeune Lorette ; the Jesuits are said to have cajoled them out of it.

The road leading along the picturesque St Charles to the Indian hamlet of Jeune Lorette, is perhaps the most interesting outlet from Quebec. Lorette contains the wretched remnant of the once warlike and powerful nation of the Hurons, reduced to its present degraded, and nearly exterminated state, by the quarrels and diseases of Europeans, and by the introduction of brandy, rum, and gunpowder.

There is rather a neat-looking church in this ham-

let; and the Indians, who speak French, attend to all the ceremonies of the Catholic religion with the most implicit obedience to their priest; but most of them, except the women, are lazy, and addicted to drink; and few things appear more likely than that before another century expires, the whole race will vanish from the face of the earth.

A little above Lorette, there is a beautiful cascade; and, three miles further on, we reach the picturesque lake out of which the river flows. It is three miles long, and two rugged points, jutting across about the middle, nearly divide it into two lakes. The scenery altogether is enchanting; and to it the "brothers of the angle" may resort with great pleasure, and with the certainty of greater success than "a glorious nibble."

The cataract of Chaudiere is sufficiently interesting, even for those who have beheld Niagara, to visit. Four miles from the southern shore of the St Lawrence, and twice that distance from Quebec, the Chaudiere, 240 yards in breadth, with its banks decorated with woods and glades, and broken into romantic grandeur by vast masses of rocks, roars and foams, in wild sublimity, over immense ledges of more than 100 feet in height, and then rushes, and boils, and thunders, over and among rocks and ledges, until its waters mingle with those of the St Lawrence.

The country on each side of the St Lawrence, from Quebec to Montreal, exhibits a succession of parishes, mostly consecrated by name to the memory of some saint, and the whole so thickly settled as to assume

the appearance of one continued village. The post road leads through those on the north shore ; and on the south there are also good roads, but the parishes, generally, are not so populous, nor are they so much frequented by travellers as those of the north. The banks of the tributary rivers are also settled on ; and some of these, particularly the Chaudière, Beçancourt, Nicolet, St Francis, Yamaska, and Richlieu, on the south ; and the Jacques Cartier, St Anne, St Maurice, and Masquinongè, on the north, would be considered rivers of great magnitude in England.

In winter, travellers going between Quebec and Montreal, may either hire a carriolle, or go by the post. The winter road is generally on the ice, near the edge of the river ; or, when this route is considered either difficult or dangerous, through the parishes. Travellers may stop for food or lodging, or to bait their horses, either at the auberges, or at any *habitan's* house.

In summer, the post roads, excepting the intercourse between respective parishes, have been nearly abandoned since steam navigation has afforded such great facilities to those who wish to move easily, cheaply, and rapidly, between Quebec and Montreal. Formerly the river was navigated by schooners of thirty to a hundred tons ; their passages upwards were usually very tedious, and but few square-rigged vessels proceeded to Montreal. The latter are now laden with full cargoes in London, Liverpool, the Clyde, and various distant ports ; and those of moderate size, without stopping longer at Quebec

than may be necessary to procure a steamer, are towed direct to Montreal, often in less than thirty hours, although the distance is 180 miles, half of which is always against the stream.

The steam-boats that navigate the St Lawrence are certainly of the first-rate description, and offer every temptation to those who choose to be carried along by locomotive power. Cabin passengers pay a fixed sum (I think ten dollars, about forty-five shillings, up to Montreal, and eight dollars down to Quebec), for which breakfast, luncheon, dinner, and bed, in fact, every luxury, with ice and fruits, except wines, are provided. I forget whether the stewards expect any thing, but I think not, from the passengers.

The dining cabin, or *table d'hôte*, is usually a kind of long house, built on the after deck, with a flat roof, round which there is a railing, and over which, in hot summer weather, there is an awning; chairs or cane sofas are placed along the side, and here we may either promenade, or sit down, as we find most agreeable. The arrangements for dinner are much in the same style as at the best hotels.

On leaving Quebec, we soon pass Cape Diamond, Wolfe's Cove, the shipping, small craft, timber booms, and lumberers' huts. A little further on, we have a glimpse of the dingle of Sillery; and on the south shore, New Liverpool, opposite which there are usually some ships loading, rises from the margin of the river. At this place a deep water wharf, and three *dolphins*, or mooring stages, for the convenience of

shipping, have been constructed by Mr Price of Quebec. Here there is also a good hotel, in the most charming situation imaginable.

As we proceed up the St Lawrence, various objects incessantly unfold themselves. We meet, or are accompanied by, river craft, or steam-boats; some of the latter, probably, towing up brigs and schooners; and not unfrequently we also observe one or more of those immense floats, the timber rafts, covered with men, women, and small *shanties*.

The banks on each side continue high, but sloping, and beautifully decked with woods, churches, white cottages, orchards, and corn fields, until we pass the mountain torrent of the River Jacques Cartier, and reach the rapids of Richlieu, forty-five miles above Quebec.

These rapids are occasioned by a visible descent of the river running over an unequal bed; but sailing vessels can, with a fair breeze, *stem* and surmount them. The banks now gradually diminish; the highlands recede to the north and to the south; a low country, of evidently secondary formation, and in a natural state less interesting, commences and prevails; but populous villages and cultivated lands lend beauty and animation to the scenery, and we soon after pass the mouths of the St Maurice, or Trois Rivières.

Trois Rivières, or Three Rivers, is the third town in Canada. It faces the St Lawrence, on the west side of the St Maurice. Its situation is very agreeable; but the soil near it is light and sandy. The

river is deep near the town, and here the steamers stop to take on board passengers and fuel.* It owes the name of Trois Rivières to two small islands at the *débouché* of the St Maurice, which give it the appearance of three distinct rivers. This town is one of the oldest places in Canada. It contains about 300 dwelling-houses, mostly built of wood, and about 2000 inhabitants,—a decent-looking Catholic and Protestant church,—a convent of Ursulines, founded in 1677 by St Valiere, second Bishop of Canada, for the education of female children, and for the poor sick, as well as those who were tired of the world. The funds of this convent are incompetent to its useful purposes. Here lived, and here, (in 1823), nearly eighty years old, died the venerable, amiable, and accomplished Abbé de Calonne, brother of the famous financier and minister of Louis XVI. The infuriated demon of revolution drove him from France to England. He then sought and found an asylum in Prince Edward Island, which he left for Canada, —a colony whose inhabitants were more agreeable to the associations of his life and education. The world for him had lost its fascinations ; for, when the Bourbons reascended the throne of France, he not only became possessed of considerable property, but he had offers to return to his native country, that ambition would not have rejected. The property he at once distributed among others ; and his little cure at Three Rivers satisfied his ambition as to ecclesiastical power.

* Wood, not coal, is used ; but the latter, which can be had from Pictou or Cape Breton, would be found equally cheap.

Here the courts of justice for the district are held; and here at one period not only a great share of the fur trade centred, but, from its lying nearly midway between Montreal and Quebec, its general trade was also of much more importance than it is at present, in consequence of the latter places having been brought, morally speaking, so much nearer each other by the power of steam navigation.

On the right bank of the St Maurice, seven or eight miles from the town of Three Rivers, are the iron forges which were established, in 1737, by individuals whose want of wealth prevented them from being regularly worked until they were bought by the crown. The right of the French king devolved on his British majesty, and these forges have since then been let to private enterprising persons, who have worked them with success. The ore is abundant, and equal to the best Swedish. The *habitans* prefer the iron made of it to any other; and the stoves cast at the foundery are said to endure the heat better than those made at Carron. Scarcely any other kind is used in Canada; and many of them find their way to the other provinces. Stoves, pots, and potash kettles, are the principal articles cast here. The forges are worked night and day; charcoal only is used; the workmen are chiefly Canadians. Englishmen are only employed in making models.

The River St Maurice is a large river, winding over an extensive territory only known to fur traders, and broken by rapids and cataracts.

About eight miles above Three Rivers we enter

Lake St Peter, which is an expansion of the St Lawrence over flats for about twenty-five miles in length, and five to ten in breadth. Passing over this lake, particularly on a hot calm day, is exceedingly tame and uninteresting. The water is shallow, and the channel, which is very intricate, requires to be marked with beacons, usually small fir poles stuck in the mud, with part of the green tuft left on their tops. The lands are so low on each side that the shores are scarcely seen; and we cannot help feeling an impatient anxiety to get rid of the tame scene, especially when we recollect that the post roads along this lake pass through a populous and beautiful though flat country.* As we approach the head of the lake, innumerable green islands and villages, rising on each side the river, reanimate our progress. These islands are evidently formed of alluvial deposits, as are also most of the low lands we pass until we reach Montreal.

On the south, at the head of the delta of Lake St Peter, the St Lawrence receives the River Richlieu, or Sorell, or Chambly, for by all these names is it known. On the east bank, and on the site of the fortress erected by M. de Tracy, stands the town of Sorell, or, as it is now called, Fort William Henry. This little town is charmingly situated, but its appearance, being little more than a collection of humble

* My recollection of this lake may be perhaps biassed by my feelings, for although two of the passengers were gentlemen of much information, we were all, under the influence of the extreme heat, quite averse to conversation until evening approached.

wooden houses, with a Catholic and a Protestant church, both small buildings, has little that is attractive. During war it has always been a post of some consequence, and the shadow of a garrison is still kept up. The steamers stop here to land or receive passengers, and to take on board fuel, of which, being wood, vast quantities are used.

The Richlieu issues from Lake Champlain, and flows, for about seventy miles, through a fertile and rather well-settled country, and passes close by several villages or small towns, the principal of which are Champlain, Lacolle, Isle Aux Noix, St Jean, Chambly Beloiel, and St Ours, before it mixes with the St Lawrence at Fort William Henry. It differs from most rivers in its being only 250 yards wide at its *débouché*, while it increases gradually upwards to more than four times that breadth.

About a mile and a half from Fort William Henry stands the simple but pretty Canadian-fashioned cottage, which is the temporary summer residence of the Governor-general of Canada. Lord Dalhousie introduced the Scottish system of agriculture on the farm he cultivated here; and on this charming spot he probably spent the happiest portion of his residence in Canada.

The village of Chambly, about forty miles up the Richlieu, faces a beautiful basin formed by an expansion of the river; and seven or eight miles farther on we come to Fort Chambly, one of the old French garrisons, formerly erected to prevent the incursions of the Iroquois. It is a substantial stone fortifica-

tion, and during the late war it became a post of great consequence, as the headquarters of from 6000 to 7000 troops. Two miles above Fort Chambly stands the town of St Jean, where there is a custom-house, at which all goods passing into or out of Canada, by Lake Champlain, are, or at least should be, entered. A horribly bad road, eighteen miles long, leads from this place to La Prairie, opposite Montreal; the ground over which it passes is low, and a rail-road is contemplated; from the line of incessant intercourse which this road forms, few projections would answer better. St Jean lies in the route by the way of Lake Champlain to the United States; steamboats in summer arrive and depart regularly; and thousands of sledges, principally American, pass through it in winter.

About twelve miles further on, we come to the British naval station and garrison on Isle Aux Noix, which completely commands the river. Here are three forts, with a deep wet ditch and glacis, blockhouses and barracks; and here the hulks of the ships of war that were not taken or destroyed by the Americans, and several gun-boats, are now rotting.

At Rouse's Point, where Lake Champlain, one of the most picturesque of the inland waters of America, opens, are the deserted huge stone fortress and outworks, erected by the Americans during the late war, when they considered this position within their boundary. It is, however, within the British line, and completely defends the pass of Lake Champlain, between Canada and the United States.

Returning from this diversion up the Richlieu, and leaving Fort William Henry for Montreal, we pass numerous islands, all evidently of alluvial formation ; the lands on each side are also alluvial, and the country flat, but populous, well cultivated, and luxuriant.

At length Montreal, with the magnificent wooded mountain from which it takes its name, together with the broad sheet of water between it and La Prairie, the strongly fortified island of St Helena, and the ships, steamers, and small craft, two hundred and seventy miles above salt water, and more than five hundred from the sea, all open into view, and exhibit a grand, varied, and most interesting picture.

CHAPTER X.

Montreal—General Appearance—St Paul's and Notre Dame Streets—Nelson's Monument—Champ de Mars—Suburbs—Public Buildings—Catholic Cathedral and Churches—English Church—Scotch Kirk—Court-House—Jail—Government House—Nunneries—French College—M'Gill College—Natural History Society—Mechanic's Institution—Hospital—Public Schools—News-Room—Libraries—Periodicals—Position of Montreal—Trade—*Bateaux*—Scows—North-west Company—Bank—Committee of Trade—Population—Society—Hotels—Amusements—Theatre and Circus—Environs of Montreal—The Mountain Scenery—Outlets of Montreal—Lachine, &c.

THE island and seigniory on the south side of which the city of Montreal stands, is about thirty miles long, and from five to ten broad. On the north a small stream divides it from Isle Jesus, which is also a seigniory, and about twenty miles long, and from Isle Bizare, which is four miles long. Some miles above, "Utawa's tide" divides into two branches; the lesser, winding betwixt these islands and the main continent, joins the St Lawrence on the east at Repentigny; and the greater, rushing among a cluster of islets and rocks, lying in the channel between the pretty wooded island of Perrault, and a sweet village, Moore's "St Ann," mingles its waters on the west with those of Lake St Louis. At the lower end of this lake, the St Lawrence contracts, and boils.

and foams, and whirls, and dashes along, among and against small islands, and over rocks, for nine miles, forming the rapids of La Chine, or Sault St Louis. A little below Montreal there are *unbroken* rapids, too powerful, however, for sailing vessels to surmount, except with a strong fair wind. Steam vessels not only easily ascend them, but also tow brigs up to Montreal.

The city of Montreal is on the south side of the island, in latitude 45° 30′, longitude 73° 25′ W. Betwixt the Royal mountain and the river, there is a belt of low land, nearly two miles in breadth; on this, close to the river, does the town stand. Including the suburbs, it is much more extensive, and somewhat more populous, than Quebec. Both cities differ very greatly in appearance; the low banks of the St Lawrence at Montreal, want the tremendous precipices frowning over them, and all the grand sublimity which characterize Quebec. There are no wharfs at Montreal; and the ships and steamers lie quietly in pretty deep water close to the clayey and generally filthy bank in front of the city. Neither is there that busy incessant movement and commercial air, near the water, that usually distinguishes Quebec and Halifax. The whole of the lower town is covered with gloomy-looking houses, with dark iron window shutters; and although perhaps rather cleaner than the lower town of Quebec, yet it is still very dirty. The streets are not only narrow, but the footpaths are interrupted by slanting cellar-doors, and other projectings. St Paul's, the principal street for shops

and trade, is the longest, widest, and best in the lower town. Parallel with it, dividing the old town from the more modern, extends Rue de Notre Dame.

Small narrow streets cross between both. At the upper part of a kind of square, in which the principal market stands, there is a monument to the memory of Lord Nelson. It is a Doric column, on a square pedestal, and surmounted by a colossal statue of the admiral. On the pedestal are figures and representations in *basso relievo*, emblematical of the principal actions of our great naval hero.

The new or upper part of Montreal, contains many handsome fashionable-looking houses, built of beautiful greyish stone, and some of the neighbouring villas are noble residences.

The Champ de Mars is a pretty, but not very fashionable esplanade, planted round with Lombardy poplars: the houses on its west side are handsome genteel buildings. Here the troops are reviewed, and here the military bands usually perform in the evenings, during summer and autumn.

To the east extends the Quebec suburb, to the north and west those of St Antoine, St Lawrence, and St Recollet. Many of the houses in each are built of wood, but within the space once encompassed by the walls, there are no wooden buildings; and this city and Quebec have more truly the aspect of old European towns than any other in America.

The older parts of the city of Boston may lay some claim to apparent antiquity; but, with this exception, all the towns in the United States, with their wide

rectangular streets, and large airy houses, lighted with a multitude of windows, present an appearance which at once unfolds the tale of their late birth and recent growth, as well as the taste and ideas of the spirits that have brought them into existence.

Many of the public buildings are more imposing in their appearance than those of Quebec. Among these the new Catholic cathedral, although the most modern, demands the first attention. It is unquestionably the most splendid temple in America. The cathedral at Mexico may perhaps nearly equal it. It is even said that there are none in France superior to it, unless it be those of Notre Dame, Amiens, and Rouen, and those only surpass it in their interior grandeur. The old cathedral, which nearly interrupted the middle of Notre Dame Street, was levelled, in order to extend the site of the new edifice. Its foundation stone was laid in September 1824, and it was opened for the celebration of high mass in the autumn of 1829. It is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Its length is 255 feet, breath 234, and the height of the walls 112 feet. The style of architecture is taken from the rich Gothic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It has six massive high towers: between these, along the roof, there is a promenade twenty-five feet wide, elevated 112 feet above the ground. It has one superior altar, and six of less grandeur. It has five public, and three private entrances; and from 10,000 to 12,000 people, which it will accommodate, may disperse in five or six minutes. The eastern window behind the altar is

thirty-three feet broad, and seventy high; the other windows are ten feet by thirty-six feet. It is surrounded by a fine terrace. The chime of bells, clocks, altars, and all the interior arrangements, correspond with the magnificence of the exterior. From 7000 to 8000 persons frequently congregate within this edifice.

Besides the cathedral, there are several Catholic churches; one of these, of plain modern appearance, but of large size, was built in the suburbs, on the arrival of a bishop from France, after the late war, for whom a palace was built near it. I was informed (in 1824) that a partial schism then existed at Montreal among the Catholics, arising from a dispute respecting the degree of precedence he should take and maintain in Canada.

The bells of the Catholic churches are eternally ringing, and outraging all pretence to harmony; and are consequently a most disagreeable annoyance, particularly to strangers.

The whole island of Montreal is comprised in one seigniory, and belongs to the priests. They are consequently wealthy: but in exacting the *lods et ventes* due them on the mutation of land, they are very liberal, and usually compound for these fines.

The principal English church is a handsome capacious edifice: its style partakes of the plain Grecian taste, and it is surmounted by a high and remarkably beautiful spire. The interior, in which there is an excellent organ, displays arrangements, in which elegance and good order have been studied. The Scotch kirk is a very plain building, standing close to the

Champ de Mars ; but the congregation which attends it is highly respectable. The Methodists have a very handsome chapel.

The court-house and prison are substantial, respectable-looking buildings, separated from, but close to each other, standing in a range between Notre Dame Street, and the Champ de Mars, and occupying the site where once stood the college of the Jesuits.

The government-house, or the residence of the military commandant, is an old low building, somewhat respectable in appearance, but not imposing.

Since the prohibition of monasteries, the old convent of the Recollets* has been used for barracks.

Three nunneries still flourish in this city; and however much the inmates may be mistaken in their ideas of piety, as respects the devoted life they lead, yet, like the nuns of Quebec, the usefulness of their lives in ameliorating the sufferings of others, or by the elementary instruction they afford to young females, cannot be too much applauded. There are lands, and some beautiful islands, belonging to these nunneries.

In the Hotel Dieu, which was founded in 1644 by Madame Bouillon, the *mère supérieure* and thirty-six nuns devote their attention chiefly to the sick poor.

* The last of this order of mendicants, in Canada, was alive at Montreal, in 1825. A piece of dirty brown cloth was tied close round his head, and his robe, of the same kind and colour, fitted closely to his body. He was reduced to a skeleton, never looked up, and appeared as if he had not smiled or looked cheerful for half a century.

The convent of La Congregation de Notre Dame, usually called the *Sœurs Noir*, or black nuns, from their dressing in black stuff, founded in 1650, as already noticed in the historical sketch, by Marguirete de Bourgeouis, for instructing young females, has a *mère supérieure* and sixty nuns, whose duties are directed to the education of young girls.

The convent of *Sœurs Gris*, or grey nuns, the chapel and garden of which faces St Paul's Street, was intended by Madame Youville, a young widow, who founded it in 1752, as a general hospital for "the infirm and invalid poor." It is at present a most benevolent institution, in which the insane, and old invalids, find an asylum. The nuns also devote their attention with motherly tenderness to the care of foundlings. This excellent charity is conducted with much neatness and propriety.

The French college at Montreal, founded in 1719, to which may be added the old seminary,* affords the Canadians not only the benefits of elementary instruction, but the advantages of a complete course of education. It has a principal and professors of theology, rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, and Greek; five regents of the humanity classes, two tutors, and a French and English teacher. This edifice stands at the west end of the city, and its size and appearance is respectable.

There are usually from 200 to 300 students at this college. Their dress does not correspond with our

* The fraternity of St Solspicius, established, about the same time (1644), a seminary in Canada, one at Siam, and one at Pondicherry.

academic ideas. Their blue frocks, with a party-coloured worsted sash round the middle, resemble the costume of the Indians. Some of the best lands on the island belong to this institution.

The English university of M'Gill college was founded and endowed by the will of the late honourable James M'Gill of this city, and established in 1821 by royal charter. Its management is ruled by the governor-in-chief, and the Lieutenant-Governors of Lower and Upper Canada, the Bishop of Quebec, and the Chief Justices of Quebec and Montreal, for the time being, as governors; and the course of studies are under the direction of a principal and professors of divinity, moral philosophy, and the learned languages, mathematics, philosophy, history, and civil law.

The Natural History Society of Montreal deserves not only particular attention, but it claims the gratitude of Canada to those gentlemen who were efficiently instrumental in establishing an institution so honourable to the province, and so well calculated to illustrate the natural history, and unfold the vast resources, of America.

The Earl of Dalhousie is its patron. It has a president, three vice-presidents, corresponding secretary, recording secretary, treasurer, and cabinet-keeper; a council of ten gentlemen, an Indian committee of six, a committee of publication of five, a library committee of five, a committee for selecting subjects of conversation and debate of seven, and a committee of finance of three.

There is also a Mechanics' Institution under the

patronage of General Sir James Kempt, the late governor-in-chief, and present master-general of the ordnance; and under the direction of a president, five vice-presidents, with a treasurer, secretary, corresponding secretary, librarian, and keeper of the museum.

The Montreal General Hospital is a handsome building, situated between the Champ de Mars and the mountain. It is unquestionably the best regulated and most extensive establishment of the kind in British America. It was founded in 1821, and incorporated by royal charter two years after. The direction of its affairs devolves on thirty governors for life, and thirteen governors elected in 1829. It has a president, vice-president, treasurer, acting treasurer, a committee of management, a medical board, an apothecary, and matron. One of its governors, a gentleman of great excellence and kindness of character, politely accompanied me through all the wards, and showed and explained to me all the arrangements;—the convenience of which, for all the purposes of comfort, and the cleanliness of the whole establishment, I have not seen surpassed even in England.

Other institutions have been gradually established, among these the schools claim our attention and praise. It has been usual to say, that the means of instruction were not to be obtained in Canada; and even Mr Duncan, the most correct writer on America that I have read, observes, in speaking of Montreal, (I think with a little bias and severity), "If literary

society is your choice, you will discover, I am afraid, but little, and of religion still less." Besides the French and English colleges, we now find at Montreal a royal grammar school, a classical academical institution, two classical academies, a parochial school, a union school, a national school, under the patronage of the Montreal District Committee for promoting Christian Knowledge, with a ladies' committee for superintending the female department, and two or three young ladies' academies, besides Sunday and minor schools.

There is also a Central Auxiliary Society for promoting Education and Industry, and a ladies' society for the same purpose, with bible and tract societies, an infant school, and an orphan asylum.

There are also agricultural and horticultural societies, a fire society, a house of industry, and a savings' bank.

There is an excellent news-room, in which the Edinburgh Quarterly Review, Blackwood's Magazine, the Monthly, and New Monthly Magazines, Canadian and United States' Reviews, and English, Colonial, and United States' papers, are regularly received. Large and excellent maps of all countries are hung round the room. Attached to it is the Montreal Library, containing the most voluminous and best collection in the British colonies of books, and prints illustrating the costumes and scenery of different countries. There is also a judiciously selected garrison library, and an advocates' library, containing an appropriate collection of books. There are five newspapers pub-

lished twice a-week, and one weekly paper. The Montreal Gazette and the Herald are ably conducted. I am not prepared to pass an opinion on the others. La Bibliotheque Canadian is a monthly publication. The Canadian Quarterly Review, which commenced in 1824, and in which some excellent articles appeared, has been discontinued; there was scarcely at that time a field to support it. A quarterly, to be called the "Coin de Feu," is proposed, and likely to be established; what its object and nature may be, I have not been able to ascertain. A religious publication, called the Christian Sentinel, is published every two months. In 1808, there were only two newspapers printed in Canada.

Except along the river, where there is no convenience for landing, there appears a greater spirit of improvement than at Quebec. There is much activity observable among all classes connected with trade. The position of Montreal, at the head of the ship navigation, and near the confluence of the St Lawrence with the Uttawa, and its subsequent communication with Upper Canada, the Gennessee country, and other parts of the United States, will always constitute it one of the greatest commercial emporiums in America, which must increase in magnitude and importance along with the rapid improvement and increasing population of the upper and surrounding countries.

In winter the trade of Montreal is not suspended like that of Quebec. Thousands of sledges may be seen coming in from all directions with agricultural

produce and frozen carcasses of beef and pork, firewood, and other articles. Keen, calculating Jonathan, who finds out whatever will enable him to obtain a dollar, also directs his way with a horse and sledge, carrying the fish he caught in Massachusetts Bay over snow and ice to supply the tables of the fresh-fish epicureans of Montreal.

Manufactured goods of all kinds are continually selling off in packages by the merchants or the auctioneers to the shopkeepers and country-dealers, who again retail them to the *town's folk* or country people; and flour, wheat, potatoes, &c., are continually coming in and filling the stores or warehouses. The markets of Montreal are abundantly supplied at all seasons of the year; and, although the expense of living is unusually great, the price of provisions is certainly not the cause. An American traveller, comparing the river St Lawrence with the Mississippi, observes, "great was our surprise, on arriving within view of Montreal, at the magnitude and importance of the place, and the grandeur of the vast river, and the shipping five hundred miles from the ocean. It may well compare with our own Mississippi; and, though winter fast locks it in ice, summer, on the other hand, brings no yellow fever.

In summer, vast rafts of timber come down and pass the town for Quebec, and scows, batteaux, or Durham boats, bring down the produce of the upper country. The batteaux will carry about six tons; they are forty feet long, six feet broad, flat-bottomed, and draw about twenty inches water, and constructed to shoot or pass through the rapids. The dangers to

which the *voyageurs* or boatmen are exposed, are almost incredible. When rowing, they keep time by singing their celebrated airs, the effect of which in fine weather on the rivers and lakes is truly delightful. Moore's charming Canadian boat-song is in beautiful accordance with local truth. The scows are rude, oblong, rectangular, flat-bottomed vessels, that will sometimes carry down 4 to 500 barrels floating with the stream. They are built in the upper countries merely for carrying down one cargo, and then sold, to be broken up, for a few dollars, at Montreal or Quebec.

Before the North-west and Hudson Bay Companies joined their interests, Montreal was the head-quarters, the grand depot of the fur trade. The company have still a warehouse here; and we may occasionally observe canoes, laden with various articles to barter for furs with the Indians, depart for the ports on the river St Maurice. There is a cast-iron foundery; and machinery for steam-engines, stoves, kettles, &c., are manufactured in the town. There are also distilleries, breweries, soap, candle, and tobacco manufactories; and several ship-building establishments, where many substantial and handsome vessels have been constructed. The bank, which was established in 1817, facilitates commercial transactions to a vast extent. There is a branch of it at Quebec. There is also a committee of trade, which regulates various commercial matters and charges.

The population of Montreal resembles that of

Quebec. More than three-fourths are French; the rest English, Scotch, Irish, and Americans. The appearance of the population in the streets is also much the same as at Quebec, with an addition of tall, lathy, sallow, calculating Yankees; and athletic, warm-hearted, unsuspicious Highlanders from Glengary; with groups of Iroquois Indians, in tawdry costume, and equally as degraded as the Hurons of Lorette. It has a more ecclesiastical character than Quebec; a greater number of priests in their black robes, and students in their academicals, are seen walking about.

The state of society is also much the same as at Quebec, and, I think, equally genteel and respectable. The cessation of business during winter at Quebec, contrasted with the active occupations of the inhabitants of Montreal during the same period, may produce effects, probably favourable to Montreal, on the society of both places. The north-west merchants and their ladies gave, at one time, the lead to society. I have heard it said, merely because they gave the best dinners—an observation as unjust as it was ungrateful, and more particularly so, when made by the hungry falcons who fattened on the hospitality of those adventurous men, who, after a long period of life spent in perilous pursuits, returned from the vast, distant, and, except to them, unexplored regions of the North-west, and disinterestedly opened their mansions, and welcomed to their tables the less adventurous inhabitants, or transient visitors, of Montreal.

A full share of all that I have said respecting admission to what is considered the first society at Quebec, prevails at Montreal. Let a stranger, however, be but once well introduced, and in no place will he meet with more liberal and kind attention. Personally, I have with gratitude and sincerity to acknowledge this.

Near the river, there is a splendid hotel. Its appearance is more like that of a large public edifice. Here every luxury that the greatest epicure can wish for, may be procured. During the excessive summer heats, ice is to be had at any of the hotels or boarding-houses ; grapes, peaches, apricots, apples, and many other fruits, are also abundant.

The Montreal apples have long been celebrated. The pomme gris, in particular, is a most delicious fruit, the pomme niege, which granulates and melts in the mouth, the fameuse and bourraso, are all excellent.

The pleasures and amusements of Montreal resemble so closely those of Quebec, that the same description is sufficient. There is a very neatly fitted up theatre near the mansion-house ; and a circus has for some years been annually opened by a company of American equestrians, in which the exhibitions of horsemanship that I have witnessed, are only surpassed, not in mere physical power, but in classical attitudes, by Ducrow.

Riding on horseback, and driving out in open carriages, appear to be more indulged in than at Quebec ; and the winter season being milder, is also more

favourable to pic-nic parties at that season. There are annual races, and also a fox and jockey club, but the foxes are, I believe, always bagged.

The outlets from Montreal are not surpassed, in soft luxuriant beauty, any where in America. The ride round the Mountain is most indulged in, and thought the most agreeable. I think, however, that the ride along the Saut St Louis is preferable.

The Mountain is about 800 feet above the level of the river; along its foot, and particularly up its sides, are thickly interspersed, orchards, corn-fields, and villas; above which, to the very summit of the mountain, trees grow in luxuriant variety.

A little distance up among the trees, a plain white pillar is seen from the town. This monument stands over a natural romantic alcove, in the bosom of which, within a mausoleum, repose the ashes of the late Simon M'Tavish, Esq. To this retired and beautiful spot, a pretty path winds among the trees. To this place he used to walk, and sit for some hours reading on the spot where, on his death-bed, he requested to be buried. Some distance below it, stands the beautiful mansion which he erected, but did not live to finish; nor has this yet been accomplished. The prospect from the Mountain is truly grand, although the features of the scenery want the romantic grandeur viewed from Cape Diamond. On the south, we observe the blue hills of Vermont, and all around, a vast extent of thickly inhabited, cultivated, and fertile country, embellished with woods, waters, churches, houses, and farms. Under us, we have a map view

of the city of Montreal, with its shipping and river craft, and the island of St Helena; and opposite, the low lands of Longeuil, where the river is about two miles over, and La Prairie about eight miles distant; upwards, lie "Nuns' Islands," and several others, among which Saut St Louis foams and rushes; and, on the right, the low ground crossed by the Lachine Canal. In another place, we observe the priests' farm, surrounded with a wall so strong, as if the reverend fathers were apprehensive of a siege. There are good roads leading to the east end of the island opposite to Repentigny, and to Isle Jesus, and also by Lachine to St Anne's. The post road to Lachine leads over one of those steps or heights, which occur in the rear of alluvial lands; the ground lying between it and the rapids is low and fertile. The road along the river is two or three miles longer; but the traveller who prefers it, if he has any taste for the beauties of nature, will be more than pleased when he rides for nine miles along the beautiful scenery of this part of the St Lawrence.

At Lachine, there are government stores and batteaux; here also are the goods of the Indian department deposited; and thirty batteaux are sometimes employed to carry them to Kingston. The whole sum thus expended in the shape of presents to the Indians, has produced no efficient good. This is unquestionable. Why, therefore, should it be persisted in? as the money, if at all appropriated for the benefit of the Indians, might be more wisely and much more usefully applied.

Lachine has long been a great point of departure for Upper Canada. From it the north-west company dispatched their large bark canoes for the Ottawa and western regions, laden with various and necessary articles. From this place also, the steam-boats now start for Upper Canada; and we may either take a passage by one of them, or we may drive in a calèche, through a beautiful rural country to St Anne's, from whence we may cross the ferry to Isle Perrault, and from thence proceed to Upper Canada, or by the lake of the two mountains, continue our voyage or journey up the Uttawa.

Map
of
UPPER CANADA
Exhibiting the
Districts & Counties
FOR
Mr GREGOR'S
BRITISH AMERICA
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
IMMENSE FORESTS AND FERTILE LANDS
NEWCASTLE
MIDLAND DT
HOME DISTRICT
WESTERN DISTRICT
JOHNSTOWN DT
EASTERN DISTRICT
Georgian Bay
Lake Simcoe
Lake Chaudier
Rapids
Prescot
Russell
Glengary
Dundas
Stormont
Grenville
Johnstown
Leeds
Lanark
Carleton
Prescott
Kingston
Sackrisk
Oxford
Norfolk
Middlesex
Essex
Kent
Sandwich
Amherstburg
Chatham
Moravian
Oxford
Burlington
Paradise
Durham
Northumberland
Newcastle
Toronto
Niagara
Queenston
Fallsof Niagara
Black Rock
Buffalo
Fort Erie
Fort George
Long Point
Presqu'isle
High Rock Bank
Sandusky B.
Goderich
Fort St Clair
Maitoumin Id
Cabots Head
very high
Penetanguishene
Matchedash Bay
Black River
Madawaska
Talbot R.
Shallow Lakes
Gallambuct
Rideau
Perth
Bytown
Ottawa or Grand River
S. W. Branch
Rivine du Fran
Lake Nipissing
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Lake Superior
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
River St Clair
Thames
Grand River
Niagara River
St Lawrence
Ogdensburg
Morristown
Brockville
Kingston Ferry
Cornwall
Lachine canal
La Prairie
St Louis
Grand American Canal to the Hudson
Streams falling into the River Ohio approaching within
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK

CHAPTER XI.

Partition of Canada—Impolicy of the measure—Constitution—Laws—Counties—Public Offices—Church Establishment—Clergy Reserves—Revenue—Public Burdens—Lachine Canal—River Uttawa—Voyagers—Settlement of Hull—Timber-rafts—Cataracts—Union Bridge—Military Roads and Settlements—Perth, Lanark, Richmond—Navigation of the St Lawrence—Rideau Canal—Steam Boats—Lake St Louis—Rapids—Glengary—Lake St Francis—St Regis—Cornwall to Prescott—Lake of the Thousand Isles.

THE partition of Canada in 1791 was exceedingly impolitic. By the formation of the St Lawrence, nature evidently meant that the interests of all Canada should be regulated under one constitution, and that Montreal should be the seat of its government.

The chief inconveniences that have already unfolded their aspects in consequence of the division of Canada into two provinces, are, first, the difficulty that must always be experienced in appropriating a just share of the impost duties levied in the lower provinces on goods consumed in Upper Canada; and, secondly, the operation of conflicting laws and usages, in a country, the trade of which must ever flow in and out of the River St Lawrence, from which both provinces should derive equal benefits. Nothing but reuniting them, can obviate these and many other evils and inconveniences.

The constitution of Upper Canada is the same as

that of Nova Scotia, already described ; and the laws and appointments to office only differ, in a few instances, to correspond with local circumstances.

The Lieutenant-Governor is a Major-General in the army, and the Executive Council consists of the Chief Justice, the Bishop of Quebec, the Archdeacon of York, and four others.

The Legislative Council consists at present of seventeen members, including the Bishop of Quebec, and the Archdeacon of York, but not the Chief Justice.

The House of Assembly consists of fifty members, who represent the counties and towns, namely, the towns of Kingston, York, and Niagara, one member each ; the counties of Prescott and Russell, one ; Glengary, two ; Stormont, two ; Dundas, two ; Grenville, two; Leeds, two; Lanark, one; Carleton, one; Brockville, one; Frontenac, two; Lennox and Addington, two; Prince Edward, two ; Hastings, two; Northumberland, two ; York, two ; Simcoe, one ; Halton, two ; Haldimand, one ; Durham, two ; Wentworth, two ; Lincoln, three ; Middlesex, two ; Kent, one ; and Essex, two members.

In the Court of King's Bench, one Chief Justice, and two Puisne Judges preside ; and in each of the eleven districts, into which the province is divided, there is a district Judge.

There are few countries where litigation is more frequently resorted to than in this province, and the cost of civil suits amounted last year to L.40,000, as stated in the House of Assembly.

The principal public officers, besides those of the law department, are the Receiver-General, or Treasurer of the Province; Inspector-General; Surveyor-General; Surveyor-General of Woods, and Agent of Crown Lands; Secretary and Registrar, and Auditor-General of Lands.

The establishment of the Church of England in Upper Canada is considered within the diocese of the Bishop of Quebec, and consists of forty-one clergymen, besides the Archdeacons of York and Kingston.

One seventh part of all the lands in every township in the province, has been reserved for the Protestant clergy, which has been construed to mean those of the Church of England.

In a country circumstanced like Upper Canada, the folly and injustice of such reservations, were it on no other grounds than preventing the settlement of such valuable portions of the province, cannot be too severely condemned; the great bulk of the population being Presbyterians of the Kirk of Scotland, Catholics, and Dissenters of various denominations.

The revenue of the province arises from trifling duties levied under the 14th George III., and the allowance made for duties levied at Quebec on articles consumed in the upper province.

The appropriation of this revenue has formed the cause of very unpleasant misunderstanding between the legislative and executive branches of the government, during the administration of the present governor, Sir John Colborne, and of his predecessor.

Two regiments of foot are usually stationed in the province, and a commodore and other officers in charge of the naval department. The militia laws and statute labour are regulated in the same manner as in Nova Scotia, and the revenue is appropriated to various public uses, such as opening roads, constructing bridges and public buildings, aiding in supporting schools, and contributions to the payment of the civil list.

The partition, or constitutional act of 1791, separated from the government of Quebec, that vast region lying west of the Uttawa, and north of the St Lawrence, commencing at the boundary of Longeuil, from the great lakes to the regions of Hudson Bay. No part of America, above St Regis, south of the St Lawrence, was retained by the British government; yet, when we examine a map of the country, we are at a loss to account for the abandonment of the valuable peninsula of Michigan, or of any part of America lying north of the parallel of the head of Lake Erie.

To obviate the obstructions in the navigation of the St Lawrence above Montreal, various canals have been completed, and others are now cutting.

The Lachine Canal, immediately above Montreal, which was undertaken by a company in 1821, is nine miles long, twenty feet wide, and five deep. It has substantial stone locks, one hundred feet long. The total expense was L.130,000; and the tolls, which must greatly increase, paid last year (1830) 4 per cent. on this amount. Steam-boats may pro-

ceed from the island of Montreal up the Uttawa, and pass through the lock lately cut at Vandrieul to the *Long Saut* rapids, near Granville; to obviate which, a canal is now cutting, about forty miles above Lachine, by government, that will cost about L.180,000.

The Uttawa has only been very partially explored. It is said to have its source near the Rocky Mountains, and to traverse, in its windings, a distance of 2500 miles: If so, its magnitude, although only a tributary of the St Lawrence, is equal to any river in the old world. It certainly rises in the north-west regions, beyond Lake Huron; and probably winds its course, for from ten to twelve hundred miles, before it joins the St Lawrence. This great river, however, was scarcely known, except to the fur traders. It was their grand route to the North-west territories. Forty to fifty canoes formerly proceeded from Lachine with articles of traffic, and ascended the Uttawa for about 300 miles; from whence they were carried over *portages*, *decharges*, or paddled along lakes, and then across by French river to Lake Huron. The coasts of this lake, and those of Lake Superior, were afterwards traversed until the voyagers met at the Grand Portage, with the *Coureurs bois*, and *Bois brulès*, who brought the furs from the Indian hunting countries. The voyagers then returned with these furs to Montreal; and in light bark canoes, voyages of several thousands of miles were performed by those hardy adventurous men.

The navigation of the Uttawa is frequently inter-

rupted by cataracts and rapids; and the scenery exhibits picturesque beauty and fertility. In some parts it expands over the country, and forms what are termed the lesser, or *thirty mile* lakes of Canada. It receives several rivers between its *débouché* and its upper settlements, most of which issue from or run through lakes. The largest of these rivers are the Petite Nation, the Rideau, the Canadian Mississippi, and the Madawask, &c.

It divides Lower from Upper Canada; and townships have been laid out, and settlements have for some time been rapidly forming, along its banks. Some eight or ten years ago, the township of Hull, and the whole surrounding country, exhibited nothing but a vast wilderness. An enterprising American (the notable Philemon Wright, Esq., of Mr M'Taggart; and on the Canadian stage, the Obadiah Quincy, banker of Boston, of the ingenious Mr Galt,) travelled in quest of lands, and proceeded up the Uttawa. He examined the country about Hull, and quickly discovered its favourable advantages. Here, in the heart of the wilderness, eighty-five miles above Montreal, was a magnificent river, flowing from afar through excellent lands, with abundance of timber, and mountains of iron ore. He knew well how to bring those resources into profitable operation, and immediately proceeded to Quebec, where he obtained a grant of the lands. He drew hundreds of settlers to the place; forests rapidly disappeared, which were soon succeeded by houses, inhabitants, yellow cornfields, meadows, and flocks and herds. Settlements

have extended since that time twenty to thirty miles above Hull.

Vast quantities of pine and oak timber are floated down the Uttawa. It is said that some *gangs* of lumberers have brought rafts down 600 miles. The dexterity with which they manage these rafts, or masses of timber, is astonishing; particularly when directing a raft down the falls of Chaudiere.

This cataract is grandly picturesque, about a mile wide, and broken and separated by numerous islands, where it comes thundering down eighty feet over precipices.

Here, however, the two provinces are connected, by the execution of a most daring plan, the "Union Bridge," over the Grande Chaudiere, where no sounding has been found at a depth of 300 feet.

This bridge was erected three or four years ago, under the superintendence of able engineers (Captain, now Colonel Bey, and Mr M'Taggart.) It has eight arches of sixty feet, two of seventy feet, and one of 200 feet.

The whole of the country lying between the St Lawrence, from Longeuil to Kingston and the Uttawa, and from Kingston to Detroit, has been laid out in townships, about ten miles square, and containing 63,600 acres each. Among these we find several flourishing settlements, which were commenced under the care of superintendents in 1815.

At the conclusion of the last war, this thriving portion of Canada presented a vast, almost impenetrable forest. A military road, and numerous other

roads were opened; and, as the lands along them were rendered accessible, they were soon settled upon; and the resources of the country then began gradually to develope themselves, and to afford ample means of subsistence to the inhabitants. The first settlers were principally disbanded soldiers and emigrants from Scotland. The military settlements of Perth, Lanark, and Richmond, were among the first that prospered with such amazing success.

The obstructions in the navigation of the St Lawrence, and the facilities afforded an enemy to intercept the intercourse between Montreal and Kingston, were partially obviated, by opening, soon after the war, the great military road from the Point of Nepean, on the Uttawa, to Kingston.

Since that time, the Rideau canal, to answer more effectually the object of transporting goods to Upper Canada, was commenced by the government in 1827.

The estimated expense of this canal was about L.500,000. Its extreme length, including the rivers and lakes through which it passes, is 160 miles; but it is considered that there will not be more than twenty miles of excavation. The principal expense will be the construction of dams and locks. It will have forty-seven locks, 147 feet long, and thirty-three feet wide. The total lifts for lockage rise to a height of 437 feet; the Summit reservoir is Lake Rideau, which is twenty-four miles long.

The usual route to the lakes of Upper Canada is still, and will always continue to be, along the St

Lawrence, by steam-boats in summer, and with carrioles or sledges in winter.

On leaving Lachine in a steam-boat, we pass the Indian hamlet of Cagnawaaghaa, and Lake St Louis immediately after expands to a width of several miles. The scenery, which unfolds its picturesque features as we pass along, is exceedingly interesting. The swelling high outline of Montreal receding behind us; the romantic *débouché* of the Uttawa, the sweet village and decent church of St Ann, and the richly wooded island Perault, rising on the north; a low but rich country, through which the Chateuguy flows, extending along the south; and the head of the lake near the Cascades, rising before us in the distance, form an extensive and beautiful panorama.

At the rapids of the Cascades, where there is a short lock, travellers land from the steam-boats, and proceed by a stage coach to the little village of Coteau du Lac. The post road leads along the north banks of the river, and a succession of dangerous rapids occur in this distance, known by the name of the *Cascades* and *Les Cedres*. The latter take their appellation from the cedar trees growing on some of the islands, close to a village of the same name.

At Coteau du Lac, above the split rock, or *La buisson* rapid, at the lower end of Lake St Francis, where there is a small lock, it is usual to embark in a steam-boat for the village of Cornwall, at the head of the lake, at which the dangerous rapid, or succession of rapids, called the *Long Saut*, again interrupt the navigation.

The first township in Upper Canada is Glengary, and we soon discover that we are not among the Canadian *habitans*. The inhabitants of Glengary are principally Scotch Highlanders, or their descendants; and a more hospitable warm-hearted people we seldom meet with; yet, although they have surmounted all the peculiar difficulties of new settlements, there is nothing of that snug comfort that we observe among the peasantry of Lower Canada. In Glengary the houses are often too large, and only half finished; or we still find many of the inhabitants living in log huts. This arises altogether from want of management, and the force of habit. Here dwells the excellent Catholic bishop of Upper Canada, the Right Rev. Alexander M'Donnell.

Lake St Francis is about thirty miles long, and spreads to a width of some miles. A little below Cornwall the boundary of the United States meets, and follows the St Lawrence. Close to this place is the Indian village of St Regis, the last point on the south shore in Lower Canada. On the opposite side of the river, lands are reserved for them by the British government.

From Cornwall, stages run along the north banks of the St Lawrence, forty-eight miles, to Prescot. Both sides of the river are equally fertile; but from St Regis upwards, the Americans have made improvements, to rival which, in extent and beauty, the British settlers can, on their side, make no pretensions.

From Prescot, nearly opposite to which stands the

American village of Ogdensburg, steam-boats run to Kingston, passing between the little British town of Brookville, and the American town of Morristown, and then, through the Lake of the Thousand Islands, the charming picturesque scenery of which has been so frequently admired.

CHAPTER XII.

Kingston Naval Establishment—Dock-Yard—Ships of War—Sackett's Harbour—Lake Ontario—Steam Ships—New Settlements—Marmora Iron Works—Bay of Quintè—York—Lake Simcoe—Coote's Paradise—Niagara—Brock's monument.

KINGSTON is very conveniently situated near the spot where old fort Frontenac formerly stood, and at the mouth of the Cataraqui, which joins the St Lawrence at the bottom of Lake Ontario. Its appearance is pleasing, and the surrounding scenery is agreeably picturesque. It has a court-house, jail, church, kirk, Catholic chapel, and meeting-house, barracks, market-house, bank, and hospital. Some of the houses are built of stone, the rest of wood. The population is variously estimated at from 3 to 5000; truth probably "lies between." Among the inhabitants, agreeable and genteel society is to be met with, but it is considered to be divided by the spirit of party.

The harbour is excellent; ships of the line can lie close to the shore; and a stone fort and block-house command the entrance. The St Lawrence, 112 guns, and Psyche frigate, and two or three other ships of war, with several gun-boats, are lying in the harbour rotting, and in nearly a sinking state. The dock-

yard is furnished with every article of naval stores required to equip ships of war. Here are two seventy-four gun-ships, a frigate, a sloop of war, and eleven gun-boats, which have reposed on the stocks, and under cover, since the war. They are not planked, and men are employed to replace any piece of timber that may be decaying. It is said they might be sent to sea completely equipped in little more than a month.

The immense sums which were expended during the last war in Upper Canada, arose, in a great measure, from the unaccountable ignorance of those who had the direction of sending the materials to Canada. Besides the vast expenditure of the commissariat department, which for a long time issued about L.1200 daily, the preparations for naval warfare were managed in the most extravagant manner.

The wooden work of the Psyche frigate was sent out from England to a country where it could be provided on the spot, in one-tenth of the time necessary to carry it from Montreal to Kingston, and at one-twentieth part of the expense. Even wedges were sent out; and to exemplify more completely the information possessed at that time by the Admiralty, a full supply of water-casks were sent to Canada for the use of the ships of war on Lake Ontario, where it was only necessary to throw a bucket overboard, with which to draw up water of the very best quality.

Kingston Harbour is crowded, during summer, with sloops, Durham boats, batteaux, and scows; and

its position must always secure to it a great share of importance.

Its rival, Sackett's Harbour, where the Americans have a naval yard and depot, is far from being so safe or convenient, as the sea rolls heavily into it, when the wind blows from the lake. Here the Americans have on the stocks an immense ship of 102 guns, which was put together apparently in a substantial manner, in forty days, from the day the first tree used in her construction was cut down. The peace, however, rendered it unnecessary to launch her, as it was agreed that no armed force should be kept on the lakes; and six or seven American ships are now lying half sunk in the harbour, "progressing," as the Americans say, "to dissolution."

Lake Ontario opens into full view immediately above Kingston, and unfolds, not the appearance we associate with a fresh water lake, out of which a great stream issues, but a vast rolling ocean, receiving the waters of many rivers. It is about 180 miles long, forty to fifty broad, fifty to nearly 500 feet deep, and 222 feet above the tide level of the ocean. It is navigated by sloops, schooners, and steam-boats; and the sea is frequently so rough, that steam-boats of common size were at first not considered fit to traverse its waters with comfort or safety. The length of the Frontenac steam-ship, which used to run between Kingston, York, and Niagara, was 172 feet, breadth thirty-two feet, and her burden 740 tons.

On the American coast, parallel, and near to which

the great Erie canal passes, the Gennessee country has been rapidly improving, and cultivated principally by Dutch and Scotch settlers.

The British shore, from Kingston to Burlington Bay, was, a few years ago, a mere wilderness. The spirit of adventure and the necessities of mankind have, however, planted settlers in, and opened roads to, every township along the lake, and in most of those lying between it and the chain of lakes connected with the Trent, and also in those townships between York and Lake Simcoe. An iron foundery was established some years ago, at Marmora, near the River Trent; but after great outlays, and although the ore is abundant and of the very best quality, circumstances with which I am unacquainted have hitherto prevented its profitable operation. The whole establishment was sold last year (1830), and a bill brought under the consideration of the Legislature for granting a charter to a company whose funds may enable them to carry on the works.

A little above Kingston, a long inlet, called the Bay of Quintè, winds beautifully for forty or fifty miles through the country, and receives the waters of several rivers; some of which, particularly the Trent, issue from chains of numerous lakes. Excellent red cedar abounds here, and there is a beautiful peninsula called Prince Edward, lying between it and Lake Ontario. This peninsula ought to be the very paradise of loyalty, if we may draw an inference from the names of various parts of it; for we have

Adolphusburg, Maryburg, Ameliaburg, and Sophiaburg.

A tolerable road leads from the Bay of Quintè, along the lake to York. It passes through the village of Newcastle and Port Hope. In the rear of the latter lies Rice Lake, close to which is Monaghan, the flourishing experimental settlement of Irish emigrants, formed under the superintendence of Mr Robinson.

York is the capital of Upper Canada, for what reason it is difficult to say, unless it be, that its harbour, being shallow at the entrance, was considered a good protection against the Americans; who, however, took and nearly burnt the whole town during the last war. It has a few handsome public buildings, and some good houses; but the country in its immediate neighbourhood is extremely barren. A road leads from it, fifty miles, to Lake Simcoe, along which a great number of emigrants have been settled.

The lands round Lake Simcoe are considered excellent, and some spot near it has been considered far preferable to Kingston for the seat of government.

Lake Simcoe is forty miles long, twelve broad, and throws off its surplus waters by the River Severn, into Gloucester Bay, Lake Huron. Roads also lead from York to the River Nottawasaga, which falls into Lake Huron, and to Burlington Bay. Settlements are forming along all these roads.

Burlington Bay is considered one of the most beautiful places in Upper Canada—a fine sheet of

water, with a natural breakwater to shelter it in front, and a richly-wooded range of high lands form an amphitheatre in the rear.

At the head of this bay stand the villages of Ancarta and Dundas, close to which is Coote's Paradise,* an extensive swamp, between which and Burlington Bay vast numbers of water fowl are frequently on the wing.

Good roads have been opened from Dundas to Amherstburg, at the head of Lake Erie. Others have been opened to the Canada Company's town of Guelf,† which, with two others from Dundas, are continued to and through their Huron tract to Goderich. A good road leads over a fine fertile country from Ancaster to Niagara, and another from Ancaster crosses the Ouse, and joins the main road leading from Niagara along Lake Erie to Detroit. The whole of the country lying west of Niagara is uncommonly fertile, and the climate will ripen in perfection the finest apples, pears, prunes, nectarines, melons, and various other fruits. Grapes may also be raised in great abundance. At the mouth of the Niagara, close to the little town of the same name, we have a fort of feeble pretensions, called Fort George, opposite, and

* This place owes its name to the circumstance of a Major Coote having been in the habit of visiting the spot, for the purpose of shooting wild-fowl, and humorously calling it his Paradise.

† Founded by John Galt, Esq., to whom the credit of establishing the Company's settlements is most justly due; and to whose judgment, in overcoming the difficulties particularly incident to so remote a district, that Company owes much of its prosperous condition.

within gun-shot of which, the Americans have a strong stone fort called Fort Niagara. Queenston is a small place, the consequence of which has greatly diminished since the North-west fur trade has been directed to Hudson Bay, and since the opening of the Welland Canal, which renders it unnecessary to re-land goods for the upper country. Immediately above Queenston stands Brock's monument, on the heights where the battle was fought in which that hero was killed. His body was removed to it from Fort George in 1824. The view from the top of this fine column is probably the most beautiful in Upper Canada. Near this is the village of St Catherine's, where there are valuable salt springs, from which excellent salt is made.

As the Falls of Niagara interrupt the inland navigation of Canada, which otherwise might be continued without obstruction from Ontario to the Falls or Rapids of St Mary's, between Lakes Huron and Superior, (which might also be obviated at little expense, and throw open an inland ocean extending 500 miles further west,) the bold project of ascending by a canal from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie was planned by Mr William Hamilton Meritt of St Catherine's.

A company was accordingly incorporated in 1824, under the title of the Welland Canal Company, for the purpose of constructing a canal sufficiently large to allow vessels of about 120 tons to pass between Lakes Ontario and Erie; and five years after the work was commenced, three schooners entered the

canal from Lake Ontario, at Twelve Mile Creek, passed through the village of St Catherine's, then ascended the height west of Queenston, by locks, and then following the canal to the River Welland, descended the Niagara, and proceeded to Black Rock Harbour, at the lower end of Lake Erie.

The length of the Welland Canal, from Twelve Mile Creek to where it joins the Ouse, or Grand River, is forty-one miles; its width fifty-six feet, and its depth eight and a half feet. The summit level is 330 feet; the ascending locks are thirty-seven in number, and constructed of wood, that they may, if found necessary to deepen the canal, be altered. The locks are 22 feet wide and 100 feet long.

This canal will extend great advantages to the country. It not only passes through the most populous part of Upper Canada, but it will also divert a great quantity of agricultural produce, potatoes and other articles, from the United States to the markets of Montreal and Quebec.

CHAPTER XIII.

Cataract of Niagara.

All travellers who have visited Niagara* have attempted to describe the Falls, yet none have succeeded, for it is beyond the power of language ever to portray the tremendous grandeur of this sublime phenomenon. Volney's description is the most philosophical, Captain Basil Hall's delineations the best detailed: Chateaubriant and others have either revelled in the regions of poetry, or raved in the giddy confusion that overwhelms the senses amidst the vast sublimities of Niagara.

Further attempts at description might therefore be deemed unnecessary, if some account of Niagara would not be considered a *desideratum* in a work treating of America.

As all cataracts owe their formation to the configuration of the countries in which they occur, we may observe, that all the territory between the Ohio and Lake Erie is one vast plain, the level of which is higher than most parts of the continent.

This plain extends west beyond the Mississippi,

* The Indian word Niagara pronounced Ni-ha-ga-rah.

and eastward to the Alleghany Mountains; but after passing Lake Erie for some distance to the north, the surface rapidly descends about 340 feet into another plain, in the level of which lies Lake Ontario.

The surface of Lake Erie is 330 feet above that of Ontario; so that if the waters of Lake Erie should rise ten or twelve feet perpendicular, the adjacent flat country of Canada and New York would be overflowed.

On approaching the river Niagara from Lake Erie, we have in view, on each side, a level country. Nothing like mountain appears, except a few low distant summits over Prisq-isle. Following the Niagara downwards, the river is at first level with its banks, and flows smoothly along for some miles among islets, until Grand Island* divides it for about ten miles, forming Black Rock Harbour on the American side, and leading down on the British to Chippawa; near which both streams unite, at Navy Island. The river is here about two miles broad, but a little below it contracts suddenly to less than a mile, and then its current rapidly increases from three to seven or eight miles. Farther down than this, the Canadian boatmen, with all their intrepidity, dare not venture. We now hear a distant noise resembling the peculiar sound of the ocean, when, as the percursor of a storm, the sea rolls in upon the shores in fine weather.

* This island belongs to the Erie Canal Company. It contains 17,000 acres, and on it did Major Noah of New York lay the foundation of the city of Ararat, and raise an altar; but the city has never been built, nor is there much likelihood of the Hebrews ever resorting to it.

This noise is more or less loud according to the direction of the wind; but loudest when all else is calm. A mile farther down, the river bends to the east, and we then perceive it at some distance, divided by Goat Island; leaving, however, by far the greater body of water on the British side, and rushing and foaming furiously among shoals and rocks. Beyond the rapids a cloud of vapour is seen rising from an immense chasm; no further trace of the river appears; no fall is yet presented; but the sound grows louder and louder, and the banks rise from the water, first ten or twelve feet, and soon to twenty, thirty, and fifty feet.

This rise of the banks indicates the declivity of the rapid, being about fifty feet in half a mile, and the acceleration of the current, until we reach the fall; where the whole vast volume of waters, incased between two lofty rugged banks, are hurled, with all the impetuous violence of its extraordinary and peculiar power, over a perpendicular height of 160 feet, into a vast and terrific gulf. On reaching the side of the falls, the senses are overwhelmed by the magnificent grandeur of this most gigantic, awful, and sublime of all cataracts.

From a jutting shelf, called the Table Rock, which is level with the edge of the cataract, the falls are usually viewed by travellers, but all agree that the grandeur of the spectacle is more striking at the bottom, below the falls, on the British side. The descent is partly down the less steep part of the bank, and partly by a spiral ladder, from the bottom of

which a kind of path leads among rocks and under the precipitous banks to the crescent or great horse-shoe fall.

The scene before which the spectator then stands, no one can justly describe. If asked if we are disappointed in our anticipations, no answer can ever be better, than the reply quoted by Captain Hall,—"No, unless you expect to witness the sea coming down from the moon." Here we have the grand outlet of those great lakes which contain nearly half of all the fresh waters on our globe thundering over a terrific precipice, leaving, for a short distance, a smooth green surface, but quickly raging in impetuous, broken, foaming grandeur, as it hurls into the vast unfathomable abyss below.

The precipice over which the cataract rolls projects about 50 feet over its base, and the fall forms a great curtain, within which we may safely enter thirty or forty yards. Fish of different kinds find their way here; and eels actually creep along the rocks under our feet.

Goat Island divides the cataract, but the fall on the British side is much larger, though not quite so high as that on the American side of the island. The latter is 1140 feet wide, and 162 feet high; the former 2100 feet broad, and, in consequence of the greater declivity of the rapid, eleven feet less in height. Both falls unite before they are lost below in the turbulent confusion in which they are enveloped. The British fall has lost its former crescent shape, and has assumed, by the incessant action of the waters,

an angular form, which renders it fully as romantic as before.

Goat Island, at the edge of the cataracts, is 960 feet broad. A daring speculator has thrown an ingeniously constructed and perfectly safe wooden bridge across the American fall, a few yards above the very crest of the cataract. A small sum is required on passing over this bridge; and towards the British frontier, a platform has been extended so far as to enable us to look immediately over the awful abyss. Mills, forges, trip hammers, &c., are erected at the village of Manchester, close to the rapids, which turn the wheels of the mills and forges.

There are two excellent hotels near the falls; the windows of each command a view of the cataract, but not the best. In 1828, either one or both of the keepers of these hotels "*got up*" a novelty to attract visitors, by purchasing an old schooner to sail down the rapids and falls. Some bears and other animals were put on board her, and the vessel was towed by a steamer to the upper part of the rapid; but soon after, the schooner turned across the stream, and, striking against the rocks, was dismasted, and swept ungracefully down the cataract. One bear previously jumped out and swam ashore. It was lately announced, to draw an assemblage to the houses of these worthy representatives of Boniface, that a man was to leap over the falls; and "that a mass of projecting rock which would weigh about ten millions of tons, would be hurled down." The sheriff of Niagara has very pro-

perly interfered, and prevented the latter being attempted.

Four miles below the falls, in a semicircular basin, there is a terrific whirlpool formed by the violence of the river, which descends into this vortex with furious impetuosity, and rushes out between the narrow perpendicular cliffs of the Niagara, here 300 feet high. Into this terrible gulf fifty Indians plunged while running from the enemy in the darkness of the night; one only escaped.

At Queenston the river is about half a mile broad, twenty-five feet deep; runs at the rate of three miles an hour, and discharges 18,524,000 cubic feet of water, or 111,510,000 gallons, in one minute.

A little above the falls there is a spring, over which if a hollow cone, open at the top, be placed, a gas will issue and inflame on applying fire to it.

In coming up from Lake Ontario, and entering the river Niagara, the ground appears before us as it were a high and nearly equal ridge, broken by a deep valley, through which the river issues in smooth rapidity. This ridge is called Queenston Heights, and embosoms Lake Ontario, by stretching round to the west and north, and forming an extensive steppe, above which is the elevated flat country.

This elevation extends to the east into the United States; and originally the fall evidently commenced a little above Queenston, at the abrupt rise of these heights.

An attentive examination of the chasm, proves clearly that the river has, by incessant action, slowly worn down the rocks, until it has carried the cascade back to the spot where it now is. The Niagara is also at least 100 feet deeper, from the falls to Queenston Ferry, than anywhere below.

The rock which forms the stratum of the heights is limestone, containing organic remains, and reposing on a bluish clay slate, which forms also the bed of the river. There is very little difference in the level of the land from where the heights commence, nearly seven miles below, to Lake Erie; the bed of the river alone presents inequalities. According to the observations of those who have resided near the falls during the last fifty years, the cataract has receded backward; according to one account, eighteen feet during thirty years previous to 1810; and lately it is stated, that during the last fifty years, the fall has retired 150 feet towards Lake Erie. Calculations, founded on either of these data, confound our chronology; for supposing the destruction of the rock to be at all times equal, according to the first, if eighteen feet have only been worn down in thirty years, the whole distance, about 35,000 feet, would have required the operation of about 58,000 years; and, according to the latter, if 150 feet in fifty years, 35,000 feet would require nearly 12,000 years. No correct calculation can, however, be offered, as to the period of time consumed in the excavation of the whole chasm, as the operation may have been much more rapid at one time than at another.

At the ratio of 150 feet in fifty years, it would take 35,000 years before the cataract would wear away the Niagara to Lake Erie, which would then be drained suddenly off, and probably deluge the low lands bordering on Lake Ontario.

CHAPTER XIV.

Lake Erie—Chippawa—Fort Erie—Buffalo—Sugar Loaves—River Ouse—Port Talbot—Long Woods—River Detroit—Lake St Clair—Lake Huron—Canada Company—Guelph—Goderich—The Far West—Manitoulin Islands—Georgian Bay—Lake Michigan—Lake Superior—North West Territory—Lake Salmon.

Lake Erie is 270 miles long, and from thirty to fifty-five miles broad. It is shallow when compared to the other great lakes, being only from sixty to seventy feet average depth; and its waters, from this circumstance, are frequently rough and dangerous. Schooners, sloops, a few steamers, *bateaux*, and Durham boats, navigate this lake. The Americans have the finest vessels; some of their schooners resemble the Baltimore *clippers*. Chippawa, on the British side, at the mouth of the Welland, is the entrepot for goods sent to, or received from, the upper country. The goods discharged or laded at this place will be much diminished in quantity in consequence of the Welland Canal now obviating the necessity of land carriage, as formerly, between Queenston and Chippawa.

Lake Erie is said to be filling up with deposits, carried down by the rivers, at the mouths of which deltas are evidently increasing. Through the River Detroit, it receives apparently the surplus waters of Lakes St Clair, Huron, Michigan, and Superior.

The American shores are rather thickly inhabited, and the townships along the British coast, from Niagara to Detroit, are rapidly filling up with settlers. Opposite to Fort Erie, where the Niagara issues from the lake, stands the thriving American town of Buffalo. Here the Grand Canal commences which connects Lake Erie with the Hudson, and consequently with the Atlantic.

At Fort Erie the lake opens, and we soon come to the Dutch settlement, called "Sugar Loaves," which takes its name from six conical hills, rising from the low grounds near the lake. The counties of Haldimand, Norfolk, Middlesex, and Essex, divided into townships, follow in succession along Lake Erie. The lands are all flat, but in some places the banks, formed chiefly of clay and sand, are 100 feet perpendicular.

At the mouth of the Ouse, or Grand River, in a low marshy unhealthy situation, there is a naval and military post, named Sherbrooke, where we have two armed schooners and several gun-boats. The Welland Canal is continued through Wainfleet Marsh to the Ouse, which it joins three or four miles from its mouth. This river is, following its windings, about 150 miles long, 1000 feet wide, and navigable for thirty miles. Lands for the Indians, who have small hamlets on its banks, have, in several places, been reserved.

On one of its branches called the Speed, about 100 miles from its mouth, lies the young thriving town of Guelph, founded by the Canada Company on one

of their blocks of land. Between the Ouse and Port Talbot lies the well-settled tract of country called Long Point.

Port Talbot is nearly equidistant between Niagara and Detroit. Here, in 1802, the settlement of the country to the westward, then an uninhabited wilderness, commenced under the able superintendence of Colonel Talbot. He encountered great difficulties before he succeeded in laying out and opening roads, extending about eighty miles parallel to the lake. Along these, farms of 200 acres were granted to emigrants, subject to certain stipulations, such as clearing ten acres of land, building a house, and opening a road in front of the farm. Settlers, principally poor people, soon flocked to it, and the whole is now densely filled with inhabitants. At the upper end there are a great number of Highlanders; the rest are chiefly Irish.

Settlements were soon after extended along the roads, opened through the wilderness of the Long Woods; and the town of Amherstburg, 785 miles above Quebec, and 1100 from the mouth of the St Lawrence, arose on the banks of the Detroit.

The River Detroit runs from Lake St Clair into Lake Erie. Its navigation is not interrupted, and its fertile banks are thickly peopled. But different characteristics present themselves to those we meet elsewhere in Upper Canada.

The inhabitants are French Canadians, and on the banks of the Detroit, they tenaciously retain all the habits and observances common to their countrymen,

the *habitans* of Lower Canada. Here for twenty or thirty miles we again observe the village form of settlements, the decent church, the pious priest, and the kind civil *habitan*. This is a rich beautiful country; and if once the ague and lake fever were banished, the climate would be truly delightful. All kinds of grain, and the finest apples, pears, nectarines, peaches, and grapes, grow in perfection.

Near Detroit there is a settlement of simple harmless Moravians.

Lake St Clair is about thirty miles long, and nearly the same breadth, and its shores as yet not well settled. It receives several rivers; the principal of which, named the Thames, winds for more than a hundred miles from the north-east; and on its banks, settlements and embryo towns are growing. It has its Chatham, London, and Oxford; and certainly the situation of the Canadian London is much better adapted for the metropolis of the province than York. General Simcoe, the first governor of Upper Canada, was exceedingly anxious that the seat of government should be established somewhere nearly equidistant to Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron.

There is a large delta at the upper end of Lake St Clair, which appears to be increasing; and through which, by several channels, the river issues. On the east or American bank, stands Old Fort St Clair; and a few miles farther up where Lake Huron opens, Fort Gratiat was erected to command the river.

On the eastern shores of Lake Huron the Canada Company's principal tract of land lies nearly in a

triangular form, commencing in latitude 43°, and extending about sixty miles along the coast.

This company was incorporated by act of Parliament in 1826, and contracted with government for this tract and some others, as well as for a portion of the clergy reserves, comprehending in all about 2,000,000 of acres, payable in fifteen years, by yearly instalments of L.15,000 each. On the largest detached block, the town of Guelph was founded in the midst of the wilderness on the banks of the tributary River Speed. This stream affords many convenient situations for mill seats, or what Jonathan terms hydraulic privilege ; and excellent timber, limestone, and clay for bricks, abound on the fertile lands through which it flows. Seventy-six houses, a saw-mill, grist-mill, market-house, brick-kiln, school-house, shops, two taverns, &c. arose during the first years, and the buildings and population have since then greatly increased. The town lots, of one quarter of an acre each, were first sold at twenty dollars ; but the price has since then been raised to forty dollars. Lands in the vicinity first at 7s. 6d. ; since then to 10s., 12s. 6d., and 20s. per acre.

The Canada Company have opened roads in various directions through their lands ; and at the mouth of the Maitland, where it joins Lake Huron, the town of Goderich has been founded. In the space of six years has this territory, previously untrodden, except by Indians, furriers, and wild beasts, been rapidly opened and settled by the energies and means of a company removing those disheartening obstacles,

which, in the wilderness, and particularly in a remote region, require the best part of a man's life to surmount by individual exertion alone.

Beyond Goderich, if we except one or two military stations, the posts of the Hudson Bay Company, and the small settlements which have arisen from Lord Selkirk's foundation at Red River, the vast regions from Lake Huron to the Pacific are all still in primeval wilderness, and still to be inhabited and cultivated by Europeans. That emigration from the east will subdue, inhabit, and cultivate the far western wilderness is not to be doubted. We have only to reflect on the progress made by Europeans, in defiance of the most formidable difficulties, in penetrating and subduing the wilderness, from the time the first permanent settlement was formed at James' River to the present day, to agree with the following observations which I extracted from a paper printed at Buffalo.

"'The Far West'—where is the west, and what are its bounds? But a few years have passed since our thriving town (then a rude hamlet) stood upon the further confines of the rising west. Still beyond there did indeed exist an ideal realm of future greatness—a matted and mighty forest, but 'clouds and thick darkness rested on it.' Here and there it was dotted with a settlement of whites, clustered together for mutual assistance and mutual defence. These were 'few and far between,' and still beyond, and deeper sunk in the murky shadows of the wilderness, roamed the border band of lawless and outlawed

whites—a race of men found only upon the line of frontier territory, between savage and civilized life, to neither of which they have any affinity, and whose anomalous character, rejecting the virtues of either, embodies in one the vices of both.

" But the solitude has been penetrated, the forest has been overwhelmed by the towering wave of emigration. That wave but recently spent its utmost fury, ere it reached even here, and its last and dying ripple was wont to fall gently at our feet; but not so now—it has risen above—it has swept over us, and while its mighty deluge is yet rushing past in one undiminished current, the roar of its swelling surges, repeated by each babbling echo, is still wafted back to us upon every western breeze. Ours is no longer a western settlement; our children are surrounded by the comforts, the blessings, and the elegances of life, where their fathers found only hardship, privation, and want. The 'westward' is onward, still onward, but where? Even the place that was known as such but yesterday, to-morrow shall be known so no more. The tall forest, the prowling beast, and

' The Stoic of the woods—the man without a tear,'

are alike borne down, trampled and destroyed by this everlasting scramble for the west. This course of empire may, must be stayed, when the shore of the Pacific has been reached, and the intermediate distance reclaimed and populated. But before these are effected, how mighty must be the growth of our republic!

Already the annual tourist, who was wont to exhaust all his rambling desires in reaching the 'Falls,' disdains so slight an excursion; he must visit 'the west,' and Green Bay or Fort Winnebago is now his resting-place. Another year and even these will be left behind, and the ever-receding west must be pursued over succeeding rivers, and mountains, and plains, until the 'western tour' shall terminate, by necessity, at the mouth of the Oregon."

Lake Huron is 250 miles long, 120 broad, and 860 feet deep, without comprehending a branch of it called Georgia Bay, which is 120 miles long, and fifty miles broad. Near the head of the latter at Pentagushine, there is a small naval depot.

The lands on the east and west coasts are generally fit for cultivation, and covered with heavy timber; but the north coast presents a rugged, formidable, and barren aspect.

A multitude of islands called the Manitoulins, or Islands of Spirits, extend from the northern extremity of Georgia Bay, to the Detour, between the continent and Drummond's Island. The largest of these islands is eighty miles long.

Through the Strait of Mickillimakinak, the fort of which the Americans claim, the navigation to Lake Michigan is deep and safe. This lake is within the American territory. It is, without including Green Bay, a branch of it, 400 miles long, fifty broad; and Green Bay is 105 miles long, and twenty miles broad; both are on a level with Lake Huron.

The passage to Lake Superior is interrupted by

the Rapids or Falls of St Mary; but it is said that a moderate outlay would obviate this difficulty, and lay open the navigation between Superior and the lower lakes.

Lake Superior is 480 miles long, 420 broad, and 900 feet deep. The southern, and the most valuable part of the north-west coasts, belong to the Americans. The northern shores, as far as we know, are wild, barren, and rugged, and only known to those who have been engaged in the fur-trade. But from the information obtained from them, the whole country between this great lake and Hudson Bay, and from thence north and west from Lake Athabasca to the Arctic regions, is of little value, except for the furs of the wild animals, or the fish that may be caught in the rivers.

In the regions lying in the parallel of Lake Superior, west to the Pacific, excellent lands, watered with numerous rivers, forests, savannahs, prairies, and buffalo licks* abound.

Salmon, some of which weigh sixty pounds, herrings, black bass, sturgeon, and various other kinds of fish, are caught in the lakes; but it is remarkable that neither salmon nor herring have been caught in any of the lakes that do not communicate with the St Lawrence. How either the one or the other have got into the great lakes of Canada, must ever puzzle naturalists to account for.

* Buffalo, or deer licks, are prairies or marshes rendered salt by the overflowing of numerous salt springs; both buffalo and deer resort to them for the purpose of licking the salt off the shrubs, hence the name *lick*.

The comparative depths of the lakes form another extraordinary subject of enquiry. The bottom of Lake Ontario, which is 452 feet deep, is as low as most parts of the Gulf of St Lawrence, while Lake Erie is only 60 or 70 feet deep; but the bottoms of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior, are all, from their vast depths, although their surface is so much higher, on a level with the bottoms of Lake Ontario, and the Gulf of St Lawrence. Can there be a subterranean river running from Lake Superior to Huron, and from Huron to Lake Ontario? This is certainly not impossible; nor does the discharge through the River Detroit, after allowing for the full probable portion carried off by evaporation, appear by any means equal to the quantity of water which the three upper great lakes may be considered to receive. All the lakes of Canada are estimated to cover 43,040,000 acres. The great lakes occasionally rise above their usual level sometimes from three to five feet. These overflowings are not annual nor regular. They have occurred about once in seven years, and are probably the effect of more rain and less evaporation during the seasons in which they take place. Sir Alexander M'Kenzie observed occasional overflowings of two to three feet in the lakes north-west of Superior, so that they are not peculiar to the lakes of the St Lawrence.

CHAPTER XV.

Population of Lower and Upper Canada—Religion—Catholic Church and Clergy—Church of England—Kirk of Scotland—Dissenters—Education—Jesuits—Priests—Colleges and Schools—Manners—Customs, and Pursuits of the Inhabitants—*Habitans*—*Voyageurs*—*Coureurs du Bois*—*Bois Brûlès*—Indians.

THE population of all Canada, in 1763, was about 70,000. Forty years afterwards, we find that Lower Canada contained about 220,000 inhabitants; and by the census taken in 1825, the population was stated to be 423,000. The actual number was, however, considered much above this statement, as an idea is well known to prevail, that numbering the people is preparatory to laying on a poll-tax; and the militia service, and statute labour, which subject all males, from sixteen to sixty years old to both these duties when necessary, form also an obstacle to correct information in ascertaining the number of inhabitants.

On carefully comparing the well-known actual population of some settlements, with the number stated in the census, I conclude, that in 1825, the population of Lower Canada was at least 450,000; and by adding the natural increase for six years, according to the ratio of the preceding equal period,

and adding also the number of emigrants who have settled in the province since 1825, the present population will be found to be nearly, if not, 600,000.

In 1782, Upper Canada had a population of only 10,000. In 1808, it had increased to 70,000; in 1824, to 152,000; in 1829, to 225,000, to which add the natural increase since the summer of that year, with the addition, also, of about 40,000 by emigrations, and those omitted in the census, and we may estimate the population of Upper Canada, without enumerating the Indians, or the *Coureurs de Bois*, and *Bois Brûlès* in the remote regions, at nearly, if not, 300,000, making the aggregate population of Canada about 900,000.

The inhabitants consist, first, of the French Canadians, who are chiefly settled in Lower Canada, and who may be considered as constituting half of the whole population; the other half consist of English, Scotch, Irish, American loyalists, and Germans. The Scotch and Irish are, after the French, by far the most numerous, forming probably three-eighths of all the inhabitants. Their pursuits have been already described in the first and second books of this volume.

In Lower Canada, the Catholic religion, of which four-fifths of the inhabitants are professors, is established on a constitutional foundation, as fully protected in all its immunities and privileges as that of the Church of England. All the revenues from lands, enjoyed under the government of France, and the twenty-sixth part of the grain raised on the farms

cultivated by Catholics, are secured by law to their church.

The Catholic establishment of Canada may be said to have scarcely any connexion with Rome. Nearly all the ecclesiastics are Canadians, and consist of the Bishop of Quebec,* who may be considered the Primate of the Catholic church in British America; the titular Bishop of Fussala, coadjutor at Quebec; the titular Bishop of Telmesse, auxiliary and suffragan at Montreal; four vicars-general; and 209 priests or *curés*, in Lower Canada, seven of whom are missionaries to the Indians.

The Catholics of Upper Canada form about a fourth of the population; among whom, under Bishop M'Donald, about twenty clergymen officiate, besides missionaries to the Indians.

In Lower Canada, the revenues arising from lands and the tithes, are found fully adequate to support the Catholic clergy; and when we take into account the whole Island of Montreal, we must consider the Catholic church of Canada richly provided for. The incomes of the *curés* average L.300 per annum, which enables them, in so cheap a country as Canada, to live respectably, and to exercise a very liberal share of benevolence and hospitality.

Protestants are not compelled to pay any thing in support of their clergy; and if a Protestant even buys lands from a Catholic, he is exempt from tithes

* The present venerable bishop, Mons. Bernard Claude Panet, has passed fifty years at the head of the Catholic church in Canada.

to which the latter was subjected. One-seventh of all the lands in the townships are reserved in Lower, as well as in Upper Canada, for the purpose of making a provision for the Protestant church; but the revenue derived from these reservations is of little consequence, and it would be wise policy to dispose of them to persons who would bring them under the profitable cultivation of which they are susceptible.

The diocese of the Protestant Bishop of Quebec, includes both provinces; and under him are one archdeacon, and twenty-nine clergymen in Lower Canada; and two archdeacons, and forty-five clergymen in Upper Canada. They are supported by salaries allowed by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts.

There are six clergymen of the Kirk of Scotland in the Lower, and ten in the Upper Province, besides several dissenting preachers, principally Baptists and Wesleyans, all of whom may be said to be supported by the voluntary contributions of their respective hearers.

The education of youth was long neglected in Canada. Among the *habitans*, it does not appear that the clergy encouraged learning, although they did not at the same time discourage education otherwise than by the example which their indifference taught. Few of the *habitans* who have passed the middle age of life, can read or write—the women were more frequently taught both than the men. This arose from the extinction of the male religious fraternities, particularly the Jesuits; while the nunneries were

not disturbed by the British Government, and the nuns have always given their attention to the instruction of young girls.

The Jesuits afforded the only source of instruction which the country formerly possessed. To the conversion of the savages, and to the education of youth, did those extraordinary men direct their labours with the most arduous zeal; and the course of instruction which they taught was eminently practical. They did not attend funerals, visit the sick, or hear confessions; these duties they left to the priests; but in their grand attempts to convert and civilize the Indians, they endured the most extraordinary privations, and encountered the most formidable difficulties. Their ardour in the pursuit of this great object, led them undauntedly into the wildest regions, and among the most warlike and furious of the Indian tribes. To the Jesuits is the merit of the early discovery of the Mississipi from Canada, and of exploring the country around and west of the great lakes, most justly due. As their estates in Canada have been confiscated, and as they applied their means, and devoted so great a portion of their lives to the useful instruction of mankind, however pernicious may have been the principles laid down in the secret institute of their order, might not the revenues arising from the lands that belonged to them, be wisely appropriated in aid of public instruction?*

* The British Government, however, never violated their promise not to disturb the Jesuits in the enjoyment of their property, as long

The priests, who are now the only Catholic ecclesiastics in Canada, were formerly only second to the Jesuits,* and never troubled their heads about giving more instruction to the people than was comprehended in the service and ceremonials of the church; but their influence and example, although injurious as affecting mental improvement, was certainly beneficial in respect to morals.

To the Catholic priests of the present day in Canada, justice requires us to acknowledge that there is great merit due. Although their education and attainments do not exhibit the splendid points of acquirement in polite literature, and in the sciences, which distinguished the Jesuits, yet they neither want intelligence, nor are they destitute of useful or classical learning.

They have been accused of silently opposing the establishing of schools, and the instruction of the Canadian youth, particularly in the English language. No charge can now be more unjust. Disputed points of faith do not belong to my province; and having known many of the Canadian priests, truth and candour require me to declare that they are pious and amiable; and not only watch carefully over the morals of their parishioners, but conduct themselves

as any of those who were in Canada at its conquest lived. The last of the order, Jean Joseph Cazot, died about 1800. He received the whole revenue of the Jesuits' lands for several years, and expended the whole in useful and charitable purposes. On his death the Crown came into possession of the property.

* Note G.

as individuals, and as a body, with praiseworthy correctness. They certainly never give an advice to others, that the example of their own conduct does not enforce.

Besides the colleges and seminaries enumerated in describing Quebec and Montreal, the Catholics have four other seminaries, which they designate colleges, and in which elementary and classical instruction are taught. These are the seminaries of St Nicolet, St Hyacinth, St James, and Chambly.

Schools under the protection and the partial support of legislative enactments and appropriations, have been established in every parish and in almost every settlement in Lower Canada. These schools are open to all without any test as to religious creed, and the full benefit of elementary instruction, in English, is now extended to the Canadians.

In Upper Canada there is an university called King's College, with a constitution similar to that of Windsor in Nova Scotia, but the students must on admission subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England. Another seminary, named the College of Upper Canada, has been founded, but it does not appear that much good has yet arisen from it. Grammar schools have also been established in the towns and counties, and elementary schools in the settlements of Upper Canada; and money in aid of their support has been appropriated by the provincial legislature.

The inhabitants of the Canadas, exclusive of the French *habitans*, are of nearly the same mixed cha-

racter and extraction, as those I have already described when treating generally of the people of British America, in the first book of this volume; and exactly similar are the manners and customs of the English, Scotch, and Irish in Lower Canada.

There is not probably in the world a more contented or happy people than the *habitans* or peasantry of Lower Canada. They are with few exceptions in easy circumstances; and they are fondly attached to the seignorial mode of holding their farms. In all the settlements, the church forms the point around which the inhabitants born in the parish like to dwell; and farther from it than they can hear the ringing of its bell, none of them can be reconciled to settle. They are not anxious to become rich, but they possess the necessary comforts, and many of the luxuries of life.

They are frugal, but not enterprising, and will seldom buy what they can make themselves. Their lands yield them grain and vegetables, and food for their horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry, as well as hemp, flax, and plenty of tobacco. They make coarse woollen and linen cloths, straw hats and *bonnets rouge*, and their own soap, candles, sugar, and implements of husbandry. They have in fact every article of real utility—every necessary resource within themselves. Their mode of agriculture is clumsy and tardy; yet the soil, with the most negligent culture, yields abundance for domestic consumption, and something over the tythes, to sell, for the purchase of articles of convenience and luxury. Their farms are small, and

often subdivided among a family. The agricultural societies, which are diffusing benefits among the other inhabitants of Lower Canada, and over the settlements of the upper province, may gradually improve husbandry among the *habitans;* but hitherto neither example, nor the prospect of interest, have been sufficient to induce them to adopt the more approved modes of husbandry, or any of the methods of shortening labour discovered during the last or present century.

We discover among the Canadians the customs and manners that prevailed among the peasantry of France during the age of Louis the Fourteenth; and to this day the most rigid adherence to national customs is maintained among them. Contented to tread in the path beaten by their forefathers, they in the same manner till the ground; commit in the like way the same kind of seeds to the earth; and in a similar mode do they gather their harvests, feed their cattle, and prepare and cook their victuals. They rise, eat, and sleep at the same hours; and, taking for truths all the priests tell them, observe the same spirit in their devotions, with as ample a portion of all the forms of the Catholic religion, as their ancestors.

They are fond of soups, which are seldom, even in Lent, of meagre quality. Bread, butter, cheese, with eggs, tea, poultry, fish, and flesh, constitute nearly all the other articles of their food. They have their *jours gras,* or feasting days, before and after Lent, on which they gourmandize vast quantities

of pork and beef, and indulge in drinking; but on other occasions they are temperate.

The amusements of former times are also common among them at their weddings, feasts, and dances. Even the noisy tumultuous *charivari** is not forgotten. They delight in driving about in calashes and in carrioles; to the harness of their horses they hang numerous small bells; and on passing each other always take the contrary side of the road to that which we are accustomed to in England. Of dancing, fiddling, and singing, they are also fond, in which, after vespers on Sunday, they consider it no sin to divert themselves, always, however, without disorder or drunkenness.

Politeness seems natural to the Canadians. Habit, imitation, and temperament, have made them a courteous people; and the first thing a child learns is to say its prayers, to speak decorously and respectfully to every body, and to bow or curtsey to its elders, and to all strangers. The *habitans* never meet one another without putting a hand to the hat or *bonnet rouge*, or moving the head. Men and women are civil to all; not from appearance, but from a sense of propriety; and they always treat their superiors and parents with deference. Parents and children live frequently in one house to the third generation; this is the best proof that they live happily. They are exceedingly modest—the women from the natural delicacy and disposition of their sex; the men from

* Note H.

custom, and a full sense of decency: the latter never bathe in the rivers, nor even in the most private places, without being partially covered.

The men are well proportioned, about, but sometimes taller than the middle size, and very rarely corpulent. From exposure to the climate, their complexions are dark; the sun in summer, and the snow in winter, bronze their faces, and the use of stoves may also affect their colour. The features of their face are characteristic. The nose is prominent and often aquiline; the eyes dark, rather small, and remarkably lively; the lips thin, chin sharp and projecting, and the cheeks inclining to lankness.

Many of the girls are pretty oval-faced brunettes, with fine eyes, good teeth, and glossy locks. They make affectionate wives and tender mothers. Their feelings are keen, and their attachments ardent. They are more intelligent than the men; and a *habitan* rarely enters upon or concludes a matter of any importance until he first consults his *femme*. On entering the house of a Canadian, his wife seems to anticipate our very wishes. If they have not at the time what we want, the landlady regrets it with such a good grace, that we cannot fail to be delighted with what she gives us.

The *habitans* marry young; sometimes twenty couple are joined in wedlock at one time in the same church. They hate being alone. The world is nothing to them unless a number have the opportunity of being together. How very different from the Americans; among whom, a man and his wife will

leave a populous settlement in which they were born, and all their friends and relations, without apparent regret, and plant themselves, regardless of all the human race, amidst the solitary gloom of the darkest forest!

The priests by their admonitions restrain, to a certain degree, and more effectually than sumptuary laws ever could, the dress of the *habitans*.

In winter the men are clothed in long full-skirted dark grey coats, buttoned close to the body, with a hood attached, to draw over the head, and with a many-coloured sash, frequently ornamented with beads, round the middle; and in pantaloons, *bonnet rouge*, or *bonnet bleu*, and mocassins, and never without a pipe in their mouths. In summer, light short jackets and straw-hats are worn in place of the long coats and *bonnet rouge*.

The dress of the women is old-fashioned, even when they wear gowns. Petticoats and short jackets or bedgowns, long waists, neat white caps, and in summer straw-bonnets, form the prevailing dress. In the towns the girls dress in the English fashions; and I must observe that the simplicity and virtue which delights us when travelling among the country parishes, does not exist generally either at Quebec or Montreal. For in these towns much of what Raynal and Professor Kalm observed of the Canadians, as they were a century ago, joined to loose habits, certainly exists at this day.*

* Note I.

The majority of the inhabitants of Upper Canada are emigrants from the United Kingdom, who have carried with them the habits, customs, and manners of the places in which they were brought up; but to this province do the worst of the refuse of the United States also resort, either to evade the laws of their own country, or to cheat the unwary. Whatever want of principle and moral character has been laid to the charge of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, including the litigious spirit of the people, and the more frequent occurrence of crime than in the lower and maritime colonies, may be attributed chiefly to the pollution carried along by the majority of those who enter the province from the United States; and, partly, by the contamination disseminated from the equally unprincipled, but not such expert rogues, who are mingled with those who emigrate from the United Kingdom to Canada. No doubt the United States receive, and are equally curst with a great proportion of the latter, as well as with a great portion of those, whose crimes and vices drive them direct to the United States from Great Britain and Ireland.

It is, however, unjust to stamp the general character of the inhabitants, either of the British colonies or United States, with the immoralities and crimes of those whose wickedness makes them notorious; yet travellers have indulged too frequently in doing so; and erroneous impressions respecting the inhabitants of North America, are consequently cherished in the United Kingdom.

The lumberers and raftsmen, whose characters

have been subjected to so much, and frequently just abuse, were some time ago nearly all Americans; or if there were those among them who were not, and whose moral character was bad, it was much better for the province that they mixed with the lumberers, than that they should have remained among the farmers. Those now principally engaged cutting timber in the woods, are the resident inhabitants who find useful employment in the forest, when they have no other occupation; and their conduct is generally as correct as if they lived in any part of England.

The Americans who navigate the Durham boats, are very different from the Canadian boatmen, who man the batteaux. The former are generally tall, lank fellows, seldom without an immense quid of tobacco in their mouths; grave-tempered schemers, yet vulgar, and seldom cheerful, "grinning horribly" when they venture an attempt to laugh.

The Canadian boatman, or voyageur, is naturally polite, and always cheerful; fond enough of money when he once possesses it, but altogether unacquainted with overreaching; and if he attempts to cheat, he knows not how. He sings, smokes, and enjoys whatever comes in his way, thanking "Le bon Dieu, la Vierge, et les Saints" for every thing. The voyageurs know every channel, rapid, rock, and shoal, in the rivers they navigate; and, never pretending to question their leader or bourgeois, fearlessly expose themselves to the greatest hardships, and the most frightful dangers. When singing their

celebrated boat-songs, two usually begin, two others response, and then all join in full chorus. These songs make them forget their labour, and enliven their long and perilous voyages. Nothing can be more imposing than a fleet of canoes, and the voyageurs all singing "cheerily," while paddling over the bosom of a lake, or along the sylvan shores of the St Lawrence, or Uttawa.

The *Coureurs du Bois*, are a race nearly similar to the Indians in their habits. They sprung up from having been a kind of pedlar fur traders, and in a great measure outlaws of the church. The licentiousness of a wandering and dissolute life, branded their name with infamy. They were afterwards employed by the French officers who succeeded to the trade; and, since the conquest of Canada, by the Northwest Company. They scarcely ever came down from the regions west of the lakes; and with them sprung up another race more fierce than the most savage Indian. These are the *Bois brulès*, or *half-breeds*, the progeny of Canadians or Europeans and Indian women. They seem to be an infernal race, rather than men of ordinary dispositions; but still they are very useful to the fur traders.

The remnant of the Indian tribes scattered over the Canadas, and over the maritime colonies, exhibit a state of deplorable wretchedness, which claims the consideration, not only of the government, but of every reflecting individual. To say that the Indians are incapable of civilisation would be to express the

most gross absurdity that was ever uttered. A North American Indian, except when maddened or stupified by the liquors introduced by Europeans, is the most dignified person in the world. He is never awkward, never abashed, nor ever ill bred, or intrusive. The grave, dignified, taciturn, yet, when occasion requires, eloquent, gentleman of nature, has never been properly respected by Europeans, and least of all by the English, who, to our disgrace be it said, have, on almost all occasions treated the

> "Stoic of the woods, the man without a tear,"

with contempt. The proud heart of the Indian, deprived of his fine country, the forests of which once afforded him abundant game, and in the rivers of which he alone fished, rather than submit to the degradation of working for the robbers who now despise his race, pines in silent anguish, while he beholds the melting away of his tribe amidst the encroachments of Europeans. All the attempts to ameliorate, or, to speak more properly, to raise the condition of the Indian to the state which is indisputably his right, are useless and futile, unless we convince him that he is respected. The schools which we have pretended to establish, the religion which we have endeavoured to teach, have not, let well-meaning and zealous missionaries state or write what they please, been as yet of the smallest utility. The Indian must have the place to which he has a right in the society of mankind, and he must believe that he is respected

as a man, before he will embrace civilization, or adopt those useful arts, which are necessary to obtain the comforts of life, or to promote the happiness of a race, who, from the encroachments of Europeans, cease to be a nation of hunters.

CHAPTER XVI.

Trade—Commerce, while under the French Government—Annual Expenses of the Colony—Fur Trade—Northwest and Hudson Bay Companies—Southwest and New York Companies—Articles of Export—Pot Ashes—Trade with the United States—General Trade—Imports and Exports—Recapitulation of the Trade, Population, and Capital of British America.

THE commerce of Canada, since the time it became possessed by England, has advanced in importance nearly in the same ratio as its population has increased: accompanying in its natural course the settlement and improvement of the country, when not paralyzed or impelled by war, casual circumstances; and, more particularly, by the sudden alteration of laws and duties which have regulated any well-established branch of our colonial trade.

While the country was possessed by France, trade, except the commerce in peltries, was nearly altogether neglected. A few ships, it is true, were built in Canada, and sent with wood to France. Seal oil, flour, and pease, in trifling quantities, were also exported; and for some time ginseng, which grows wild in abundance, was sent, first to France, and then to China, the only country which at that time afforded a market for it, to the value, one year, of 500,000 livres, about L.20,000. This trade the French lost

from not having patience to cure the ginseng, and thus imposing a bad article on the Chinese.

The balance of trade was always greatly against the colony, and the difference was remitted to France in bills of exchange, drawn by the intendant-general, for the expenses of the civil and military government, and for the cost of public works. The exports of Canada, previous to 1759, appear, by statements transmitted to us, to have amounted only to the value of

L.88,333	6	8	in furs.
10,416	13	4	in seal oil.
10,416	13	4	in flour and pease.
6,250	0	0	in timber.
L.115,416	13	4	

The annual expenses of the government in salaries to public officers, in presents to the Indians, and in money expended in the erection of fortifications at Quebec, Montreal, and upwards, along the St Lawrence, in order to form a line of forts from Quebec to New Orleans, so as to prevent the English from ever penetrating the regions west of the Ohio, or the Great Lakes, increased from L.16,663, 13s. 4d., the expenditure in 1729, to more than a million sterling before 1759.

This immense expenditure did not, however, augment or encourage the trade of the country; but, as Raynal observes, "military glory, and its dazzling grandeur, maintained the ascendant, and every other employment was considered mean, unless it were the

fur trade. This pursuit was always connected with arms, and accompanied by the military, who not only guarded the posts, but enjoyed the benefits of the trade."

The fur trade, after marts were established, first by Pontgrave, at Tadousac, and about the middle of the 17th century, at Trois Rivieres and Montreal, for the purpose of bartering fire-arms, gun-powder, and shot, brandy, red cloths, knives, hatchets, trinkets, and a few other articles of European manufacture, for furs, with the Indians, was afterwards conducted by *coureurs du bois*, who penetrated the remote upper wilds of Canada, and accompanied the savages with their furs, down to Montreal.

Many of the *coureurs du bois* settled among the Indians, and defrauded those who intrusted them with goods; while the rivalry of the English traders began, also, at the same time to divert to New York, the furs that would otherwise have found their way to Montreal. The French government, then, to change and regulate this commerce, undertook its management, and granted a limited number of licenses to poor gentlemen, and old officers, who were burdened with families, to enable them exclusively to carry merchandise to the fur countries. It was expressly prohibited, on pain of death, to all persons of whatever rank, to go themselves, or employ others to go, to the great lakes, or to any part of the fur countries.

Each license allowed two canoes, loaded with mer-

chandise to proceed to the lakes. Those who were authorized, were privileged either to act themselves, or to dispose of their licenses to others. These licenses were usually estimated at 600 crowns each, and generally purchased by the merchants, who employed *coureurs du bois* to carry on a trade that was attended with extraordinary hardships and dangers. To traverse the lakes, and penetrate the forests of the western region were, particularly at that period, undertakings attended with great peril and fatigue. Savage nations, wild inland seas, thick and seemingly interminable woods, cataracts, rapids, musquitoes in summer, and snow and ice in winter, were all to be encountered.

Twenty to thirty canoes, in each of which were six or seven men, and about 1000 crowns worth of goods, proceeded to the lakes, as far, and afterwards beyond, Michillimakinak. These goods were charged to the *coureurs du bois*, at 15 per cent more than the cash price of such goods in the colony, and the cargo of each canoe purchased four return cargoes of furs, say—

160 packages beaver at fifty crowns each, which were distributed as follows:—		8000 crowns,
The merchant received for the license,	600	
for the merchandise,	1000	
And forty per cent on the balance of 6400 crowns as profit, ...	2560	
	4160	
Leaving for the *coureur du bois* each 600 crowns for six, ...	3840	
		8000

The furs were afterwards sold to the farmer general, who usually paid twenty-five per cent additional for them to the merchant.

The *coureurs du bois* were annually accompanied by fifty or more canoes of Hurons and Ottawais, who descended to Montreal, in order to traffic more advantageously than at Michillimakinak. On arriving at Montreal they encamped near the town, and spent the first day in erecting wigwams, landing their furs, and arranging their canoes. On the following day they demanded an audience of the governor, which was granted without delay, and held in the market-place. Each tribe formed its own circle, and the governor was seated on a chair in the centre. Each Indian, in the meantime, sitting on the ground smoking his pipe, while the orator of one of the tribes stated that he and his brother were come to visit Ononthio, as they termed the Governor of Canada, and to renew peace with him. The orator seldom failed to remark, that their principal object was to render themselves useful to the French, who were not able to hunt for furs; that they knew the French were delighted at their arrival, on account of the great profit of the trade; that they wanted in return for their furs, guns and ammunition, to enable them to hunt for furs another year, and to chastise the Iroquois, if that nation should be disposed to attack the French. The orator then made a present of shells and furs to the governor, demanded his protection against the people of the town, and then the tribes arose and retired to their tents. The bartering

of furs for other articles took place next day. Brandy and wine, in the meantime, was prohibited, but, afterwards the Indians, who usually had some furs left, after paying for their stores, indulged in drinking to excess; and in their quarrels beat and mutilated each other, killed their slaves, and went about from shop to shop with their bows and arrows, in a state of nature.

The fur trade after the conquest of Canada, was carried on by private adventurers, aided by the *coureurs du bois*. For a long time jealousies and animosities created quarrels and losses among those who were engaged in this perilous trade. At length the traders associated themselves, principally through the exertions of the late Sir Alexander M'Kenzie, and formed the famous North-west Company of Montreal. The details of the trade carried on by this company are far too tedious. In the introduction to his travels, Sir Alexander M'Kenzie has given a very interesting and clear account of it. The expense of conducting and supporting a trade, the returns for the goods required in which cannot be realized in less than three years, is very great; and while it passed through Canada, gave animation and spirit to the commercial enterprise of Montreal.

The North-west Company, in consequence of the difficulties that arose from the grants made, as already noticed, by the Hudson Bay Company to the late Earl of Selkirk, joined their interests with those of the latter company, which arrangement has diverted nearly the whole trade to Hudson Bay. An establishment is still, however, kept up at Montreal, from

which a few canoes for the River St Maurice are dispatched with stores, &c.; and furs are also bought by the merchants and shopkeepers in various parts of Canada, which, in the value of exports, amount to a large sum. About twenty years ago, nearly L.500,000 worth of furs were exported direct to England, and about L.300,000 worth, through the United States, to China, by the Canada merchants.* These sums included the furs of an association on a smaller scale, called the South-west or Michillimakinak Company, who traded in the country south-west of Lake Michigan.

The traders of the American New York Fur Company, now meet and cross the country traversed by the Hudson Bay traders, and rencontres and disturbances, if not guarded against, may be apprehended.

Hudson Bay is merely a mart for the fur trade; and we know little more of it to-day, than that its climate is as cold as that of Greenland; its navigation is difficult and often dangerous, and its coasts rocky and barren, and for ever incapable of cultivation. Hearne, in his very interesting travels, gives the only satisfactory account, and nearly all the information we possess, respecting its inhospitable regions. I endeavoured when in Canada, and since my return from America, to obtain information respecting the trade carried on by the Hudson Bay Company, but my enquiries have been fruitless. On no other subject of colonial trade have my researches been defeated.

* Note K.

The stationary *habitans* of Lower Canada, have long fixed their attention to agriculture; and the quantity of wheat and pease each had to sell was small, but, when collected, it formed a prominent article of export. Barley and oats they had long neglected. To the culture of the first, their industry was directed by an enterprising gentleman, who established a distillery near Quebec. He gave the *habitans* barley-seed for nothing; and by agreeing to pay so much an acre for all they cultivated, he overcame their prejudices. As Upper Canada became settled, two commodities of important value were obtained, before the lands could be subjected to cultivation. These were timber and ashes. How the first is obtained and prepared, I have detailed in the second book of this volume.

The pot and pearl ashes of commerce require little art in their preparation. The common wood ashes, especially those of the hard woods, such as maple, beech, birch, oak, or elm, are put into vats or large casks, over which water is poured. The water afterwards drains off through holes at the bottom, and carries away the salts in solution. This liquor, or ley, is then boiled in large iron pots, which causes the water to escape by evaporation, leaving the salts behind in the form which constitutes them the potass of commerce. In this state their colour is a rusty red, which, by calcination, is turned into a pure white, and when thus refined, the salts are termed pearl ashes.

As the soil and climate are eminently adapted for

the cultivation of hemp and flax, both these articles might become staple articles of great importance. Linseed, rape, and sunflower oil, might also be prepared in large quantities. Salted provisions, butter, and various other articles, are now exported; and the leading articles, such as timber, flour, wheat, pease, pot and pearl ashes, pork, beef, and butter, are all regularly inspected. The articles of import are the same as those enumerated in the first book of this volume.*

Excellent cider and ale are made in both provinces; and whisky, of the most abominable deleterious kind, is distilled in great quantities in Upper Canada, from rye, pumpkins, potatoes, turnips, and even rotten apples. The *habitans* in Lower Canada, make nearly as much maple sugar, as they require for domestic consumption; and in Upper Canada, a great part of the sugar used is made in the country. It is sometimes refined, and many prefer it to Muscovado, but it does not contain so much rich saccharine matter.

The extensive frontier boundary which separates Canada from the United States, will for ever defy the vigilance of revenue officers; and a contraband trade is carried on between both countries, to an extent which bids defiance to the late tariff. Vast quantities of British manufactures are smuggled into the United States, and French and East India goods find their way into Canada. Before the East India Company sent their annual ship with teas direct from

* See Note L for a detail of imports and exports.

China to Quebec, the greater part of the tea used in the province was smuggled from the United States. The estimated value of the teas introduced in this way from the United States, reckoned at about half the price of tea in England, was about L.50,000, which kept gradually increasing until the arrival of the China ships.

As the navigation of the St Lawrence from and to the ocean is entirely restricted to British vessels; and as the importance of never throwing this intercourse with the sea open to the Americans, is an object of the first consequence to Canadian interests, and to British policy, it is to be hoped that all the abilities of American negotiation, will never induce his majesty's ministers to yield the navigation of the St Lawrence to their entreaties.

To encourage the admission of the produce of the United States into Canada, for the purpose of being exported in British vessels, is an object of judicious policy, from which our shipping interests, and home manufactures, derive great benefits; and American flour, potass, cattle, and timber, in large quantities, pass now to the sea through the Canadas, subject to certain stipulations.*

The imports of Canada in 1830, according to the customs' entries, amounted to L.1,771,345; and the exports, the value of which cannot be so well ascertained, to nearly two millions.

The ships entered from the United Kingdom were

* Note L.

735, registering 205,018 tons, and navigated by 9800 seamen.

The value of their cargoes, calculated at the very lowest prices in England, without freight or charges on account of the *ad valorem* duty, was L.1,160,345.

The ships entered from the West Indies, the northern colonies, &c. were 341, registering 32,340 tons, and navigated by 1750 seamen.

The value of their cargoes was L.611,000.

The ships cleared at the customs were, to Great Britain, 785, registering 226,279 tons, and navigated by 9996 seamen.

To the West Indies, and other colonies, 268 vessels, registering 30,026 tons, and navigated by 1687 seamen, were cleared. So that the trade of Canada, without enumerating coasters, or fishing vessels, or the people employed in steam-boats, batteaux, or river and lake craft, employs about 1000 ships, registering about 220,000 tons, and navigated by 11,000 seamen. Twenty years ago, all the vessels of every description which arrived in Canada, amounted only to 341, registering about 52,000 tons; yet even this tonnage was considered, at that time, of mighty consequence.

The following recapitulation of the population, trade, and fixed and movable capital of the British colonies, calculated in round numbers, from customs and legislative returns, and from various estimates, may be considered as near the truth as such data will admit; and afford, when compared to the condition of the colonies at former periods, some idea of the

rising importance of British America, and the political and commercial consequence of that part of the empire to the mother country.

There is now (in 1831) a population in our colonies, distributed nearly in the following order, and possessing, exclusive of money and movable property, the value of which cannot well be estimated, cattle and lands, much in the same quantity as in the annexed schedule, viz :—

	Inhabitants.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Hogs.	Sheep.	Acres Cultivated.
Canada, . .	880,000	96,000	540,000	550,000	620,000	3,500,000
NewBrunswick,	110,000	12,000	64,000	45,000	56,000	265,000
Nova Scotia, .	155,000	15,000	142,000	88,000	186,000	660,000
Prince Edward Island, . .	35,000	4,500	32,000	30,000	48,000	185,000
Newfoundland, and Labrador,	75,000	500	7,000	10,000	8,000	25,000
Total, .	1,245,000	128,000	785,000	723,000	918,000	3,635,000

Let the value be estimated of—

128.000 horses, at . L.12 each,	L. 1,536,000	0	0
785,000 horned cattle, at L.5 each,	3,925,000	0	0
723,000 hogs, at 20s. each,	723,000	0	0
918,000 sheep, at 10s. each,	459,000	0	0
5,635,000 acres land, at least worth 60s. per acre, ...	16,905,000	0	0
Estimated value of land and cattle,	L.23,548,000	0	0
Fixed capital, in mills and other property, required for carrying forward the timber trade, much under the estimated value in the colonies, .	2,100,000	0	0
Carry over,	L.25,648,000	0	0

Brought over,	L.25,648,000	0	0
Fixed capital, connected with the cod and seal fisheries at Newfoundland and Labrador, at least, . . .	1,500,000	0	0
Fixed capital at the fishing establishments at Gaspè, Perce, Bonaventure, &c.	160,000	0	0
Fixed capital in the fisheries of New-Brunswick, within the Bay de Chaleur, Miramichi, and the Bay of Fundy, ...	75,000	0	0
Fixed capital in the cod, herring, seal, and whale fisheries of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, ...	180,000	0	0
Public buildings at Quebec, Montreal, Halifax, St John's, Newfoundland, and in the other towns and settlements in the colonies, together with churches and dwelling-houses, cost at least 30 millions—say, -	15,000,000	0	0
Lowest estimate value of fixed capital and cattle, exclusive of the cost of the extensive fortifications in Canada, and the maritime colonies, . L.	42,563,000	0	0

The estimated value of goods exported from the United Kingdom to the British colonies (in 1830,) will be found by the customs' returns to amount, under the lowest first cost, exclusive of the freight paid for their carriage to British ships, to nearly the following sums:—

To Canada, ...	L.1,166,345	0	0
Newfoundland, . . .	560,600	0	0
Carry over,	L.1,726,945	0	0

Brought over,	L.1,726,945	0	0
Nova Scotia, ...	418,604	0	0
New Brunswick, ...	226,000	0	0
Prince Edward Island (which now receives its supplies principally through Halifax and Newfoundland), ...	15,000	0	0
	L.2,386,549	0	0

But this amount, as is well known, is much under the actual value of British exports to the North American colonies, being estimated below their worth, on account of the *ad valorem* duties.

The actual tonnage employed between Great Britain and her North American colonies, including Newfoundland, is apparently 469,098 tons, and actually about 400,000 tons, navigated by about 22,000 seamen.

The intercolonial trade* between the West Indies and the northern colonies, and between the respective northern colonies; and also, the whaling voyages, employ about 2500 vessels, of all sizes, requiring about 12,000 sailors to navigate them; exclusive of the number of sea-going men employed in the coasting trade, and in the cod, herring, and seal fisheries, amounting to about 32,000 men.

The aggregate register tonnage, therefore, of the shipping employed in the trade between Great Britain and her colonies, in the intercolonial trade, in

* See the details of the trade of the various colonies, in the respective chapters in which they are noticed.—See also Note L.

the coasting trade, and in the fisheries, cannot be less than 780,000 tons; and the number of sailors and fishermen employed in consequence, are at least 65,000.

Let those, therefore, who think lightly of the British dominions in North America, reflect on these facts, and consider the multitudes of men, women, and children, British subjects, who are supported at home and abroad, by the operations of the North American colonial trade; and by Great Britain possessing those colonies; and let them also reflect that those countries are only yet in comparative infancy, beginning to develope their mighty resources, before they form conclusions that betray gross ignorance, or the absence of intellectual capacity.

Men, however, who can, with the minds of great statesmen, appreciate the present value of those colonies, will clearly anticipate, and justly estimate, their future grandeur, and their importance in maintaining the influence of England over the whole of the western world, and their consequence in preserving British power in Europe.

NOTES TO BOOK III.

Note A, page 425.

It would appear that *seigneuries*, or *fiefs*, may be surrendered to the governor, who has then power to grant them, with the advice of the executive council, in free and common soccage. This, it is believed, would never be asked by the seigneurs, who prefer their present tenures to any other. The feudal tenures have many advantages; and the best proof that the censitaires are contented and happy under them, is, that they are not disposed to settle on the townships, where they can obtain lands in free and common soccage, as long as they can possibly find room in the seigneuries. The great evil connected with tenures in Canada, is the want of an office of record for registering deeds, as it is impossible to discover whether land be unincumbered with mortgages, unless it be purchased at a sheriff's sale. In each of the other colonies there are registry offices, where all tenures are by law recorded.

Note B, page 430.

The Crown has at last relinquished to the legislatures of Lower Canada the appropriation of the revenues claimed under the 14th George III., stipulating, however, for the payment of the civil list. Another difficulty has sprung up in consequence. The legislature contend for the right of fixing the salaries of the public officers, allowing the Governor-General L.4500 per annum, and reducing the salaries of all below him. In Upper Canada, some of the salaries are considered extravagantly high, and require revision. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the salaries are comparatively moderate, yet the legislatures consider them too much.

Note C, page 437.

The St Lawrence may certainly, including its lakes, tributaries, vast breadth, and the quantity of fresh water it discharges, be considered the largest river in the world. From Cape Chat, 100 miles above Cape Rosier, where its mouth may be deemed to commence, to the head of Lake Superior, the distance is 2120 miles. At Cape Rosier its breadth is eighty miles, and at Cape Chat forty miles; at Kamouraska, where its waters are perfectly fresh, its breadth is twenty miles, and its average depth twelve fathoms. The length of the Amazon from the Andes to the ocean is 2070 miles, and its greatest width at its embouchure is twenty-three miles.

Mr M'Taggart remarks, that "the great river St Lawrence discharges annually to the sea 4,277,880 millions of tons of fresh water; of which 2,112,120 millions of tons may be reckoned melted snow. The quantity discharged before the thaws come on being 4512 millions of tons per day at an average for 240 days; and 25,560 millions of tons per day for 125 days; the depths and currents, when in and out of flood, duly considered. Here we find, that if a ton of water be equal to fifty-five cubic yards of pure snow, this river frees a country of more than 2000 miles square (four million square miles,) covered with it three feet."

Note D, page 440.

Various names applied to local appearances, or peculiarities, are current in the common parlance vocabulary of the Americans, and introduced sometimes without explanation. Such as,

Vaults, which are deep steep glens in the forests.

Carraboo Plains, which are lands formerly laid waste by fire, or that from some natural causes produce little wood. They are also called *Barrens*.

Cedar Swamps, are deep mossy bogs, soft and spongy below, with a coating sufficiently firm to uphold small cedar or fir-trees,

or shrubs. Such lands are more difficult to reclaim than any of our bogs in the United Kingdom.

Buffalo, or Deer Licks, are marshes or level grounds, over which salt springs flow.

Prairies are lands on which, from being overflowed during spring and fall, the growth of trees is prevented.

Intervales, or bottoms, are alluvial lands along the rivers or lakes.

Mammoth Caves are dens in which skeletons of the mammoth have been found.

Rattlesnake Dens are caverns in the basins of the Ohio and Mississippi, in which myriads of living rattle-snakes are said to abound, tangled among each other; of this circumstance we know but little, although the backwoodsmen will swear it is true.

Blazes, are marks made on the sides of trees, by chipping a small slice off with an axe, and continued in a line through a forest, for the guidance of travellers where there are no roads.

Sugarie is a plot of forest lands in which maple-trees abound, and where sugar is made from the sap.

Note E, page 472.

The Columbus was launched while I was at Quebec in August 1824. I went down the day before to the island of Orleans, on the west end of which that gigantic ship was constructed, to see her on the stocks. Although I was before aware of her extraordinary dimensions, I had no conception of the huge appearance of such a vast mass. Mr Wood, who superintended the building of the Columbus, very politely showed us all the preparations for launching, and the interior arrangements of the vessel, and we certainly beheld all with astonishment. The length of the Columbus on deck was about 320 feet, breadth something more than fifty, and extreme depth of the body about forty feet. There was then about 3000 tons put on board before launching. Every thing was on a gigantic scale; the launch ways were laid on solid mason work embedded in the rock; the chain and hemp cables, capstan bars,

&c., exceeded the dimensions of common materials in the same proportion as the Columbus did other ships; yet this huge four-masted vessel was strongly framed, timbered, and planked, on the usual principles, and not put together like a raft, as many people imagined. We returned to Quebec in the evening; and early on the following morning we proceeded again in a steam-boat to the Isle of Orleans. The day was one of the most lovely I ever beheld; the St Lawrence, smooth as a mirror, reflecting a *fac-simile* of the surrounding sublimities, and of a sky the most serene and beautiful. Vast crowds were assembled on the eminences on each side the colossal ship, and on the south banks of the St Lawrence. Several magnificent steam-boats, filled with much of the beauty, fashion, and gaiety of Canada and the United States, were drawn up to the eastward. In one there was the band of the 70th regiment; in another that of the 38th; and in a third, a Highland piper, playing the wild martial music of the Grampians. There were, besides, innumerable boats, filled with people, drawn up in order on the river.

At eight o'clock, when all eyes were directed towards the Columbus, in silent, anxious expectation, the Leviathan ship appeared moving onward, gently increasing in speed until she glided into the St Lawrence with as much ease, grace, and majesty, as if my Lord Chesterfield himself had the will and direction of her movement. At this moment the bands struck up "Rule Britannia;" the spectators huzzaed; and the citadel of Cape Diamond rolled out its thunders. The momentum given to the Columbus carried her a mile from her birth-place before she was overtaken by the steam-boats, which followed, and towed her to the falls of Montmorency, at the mills of which her loading was completed.

The Columbus crossed the Atlantic, and arrived safely in the Thames, but was lost on returning to America. Another huge ship, the Baron of Renfrew, was built on the same spot as the Columbus, which, after arriving safely off the Thames, was wrecked near Gravelines.

Note F, page 478.

That the nuns of Canada have a cure for the most inveterate cancer, is not to be denied; for the instances of cases, which in England would be deemed past all possible remedy, that have been cured by them, are very numerous. I have seen many of the persons whom they cured, particularly a surveyor of the name of Fox, whose case was considered desperate beyond any human remedy. The means adopted is by applying an astringent plaster, prepared from certain herbs, and said to have been communicated long ago to the nuns by an old Indian woman. They will not reveal the secret, except to their clergy; and concealing such a remedy from the world, is perhaps the only charge that can be made against them. They, however, freely undertake the curing of all who apply for relief.

Note G, page 563.

The Recollets were the lowest and most contemptible religious order in Canada; they made vows of poverty, and were useless beggars, who were despised by the accomplished adventurous Jesuits. The Canadians had a proverb, "Pour faire un Recollet, il faut une hachette, pour un Prêtre un ciseau; mais pour un Jesuit il faut un pinceau."

Note H, p. 567.

The charivari is a noisy tumultuous assemblage of people, who proceed at night after bedtime to the house of a newly-married couple, if there be any thing inconsistent in the marriage—such as a young girl marrying an old man for his money, or *vice versa*. Some are on horseback, some blow horns, some beat drums, some ring bells, and others shout, rattle, and beat tin kettles, continuing

night after night until they receive a stipulated sum from the unhappy pair, for the church or for some charity.

Note I, p. 569.

The Abbè Raynal gives a much less favourable account of the Canadians before the conquest than he does of the Acadians. He observes, "that those whom rural labour fixed in the country, allowed only a few moments to the care of their flocks and to other indispensable occupations during winter. The rest of the time was passed in idleness, at public houses, or in running along the snow and ice in sledges, in imitation of the most distinguished citizens. When the return of spring called them out to the necessary labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially, without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harvest time.

"This amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. They contracted such a habit of idleness during the continuance of the severe weather, that labour appeared insupportable to them even in the finest weather. The numerous festivals prescribed by their religion, which owed its increase to their establishment, prevented the first exertion, as well as interrupted the progress of industry. Men are ready enough to comply with that species of devotion that flatters their indolence. Lastly, a passion for war, which had been purposely encouraged among these bold and courageous men, made them averse from the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely captivated with military glory that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay.

"The inhabitants of the towns, especially of the capital, spent the winter as well as the summer in a constant scene of dissipation. They were alike insensible of the beauties of nature or of the pleasures of the imagination. They had no taste for arts or science, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement. This manner of life considerably increased the influence of the women, who were possessed of every charm except those soft emotions of the soul, which alone constitute the merit and the charm

of beauty. Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry, they were more fond of inspiring than feeling the tender passions.

"There appeared in both sexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity; a higher sense of honour than real honesty. Superstition took place of morality, which will always be the case whenever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers."

Professor Kalm remarks, (in 1757,) "a girl of eighteen is reckoned to be poorly off, if she cannot enumerate at least twenty lovers. These young ladies, especially those of a higher rank, get up at seven and dress till nine, drinking their coffee at the same time. When a young fellow comes in, whether they be acquainted with him or not, they immediately lay aside their work, sit down by him, and begin to chat, laugh, joke, and invent *double entendres*, and this is reckoned being very witty. One of the first questions they propose to a stranger is, whether he is married; the next how he likes the ladies of the country; and the third, whether he will take one home with him."

If these descriptions be correct, the Canadian ladies of that time were very different from those of the present day, for I believe them to be as modest and as industrious as those of any country. They are, it is true, more affable, and have more freedom of manners than in England.

Since writing the text, (see Chapter XV.) I have been informed that Government has agreed to the lands of the Jesuits being set apart for the support of schools.

Note K, p. 581.

eneral View of the Imports and Exports of Canada, from 1754 *to* 1808, *in Sterling Money.*

	No. of Vessels.	Imports or Exports.	Where from, and to.	Articles.	Separate Amount. L.	s.	d.	General Amount L.	s.	d.
54	53	Imps.	France.	Merchandise, ...	157,646	5	0			
	...	...	From W. Indies.	Wine, rum, brandy, &c.	59,123	7	0			
								216,769	12	0
	52	Exps.	To France.	Furs,.....	64,570	2	6			
			Ditto..	Oil, ginseng, capillaire, timber, &c.	7,083	6	0			
	...	...								
	...	...	Louisbourg, &c.	Fish, oil, iron, veget. &c.	3,906	19	2			
								75,569	7	8
				Balance against Colony, 1769.	.....			141,209	4	4
69	34	Exps.	From Quebec....	Furs and sundries, ...	345,000	0	0			
	...	...	.....	Oil, fish, &c. fm. Labrador	10,000	0	0			
								355,000	0	0
	...	Imps.	From England. .	Manufactured goods, and W. India produce, ...	.....			273,400	0	0
				Balance in favour of Col. 1786.	.....			81,600	0	0
86	93	Exps.	From Quebec....	Furs and other Colonial produce,.....	445,116	0	0			
	...	...	.....	Fish, lumber, &c. from Labrador and Gaspè,.	45,000	0	0			
								490,116	0	0
	...	Imps.	From England. .	Manufactured goods, and W. India produce,....	.....			343,263	0	0
	...	...	.....	Balance in favour of Col. 1808.	.....			146,853	0	0
08	331	Exps.	From Quebec....	Furs and other Col. prod-	350,000	0	0			
	...	...	.....	Wheat, biscuit, and flour,	171,200	0	0			
			.....	Oak and pine timber, staves, masts, &c.	157,360	0	0			
	...	...								
	...	...	...,.....	Pot and pearl ashes, ...	290,000	0	0			
	...	...	.....	New ships, 3750 tons— L. 10 per ton,.	37,500	0	0			
	...	Ditto.	From Labrador							
	..	...	and Gaspè.	Fish, lumber, and oil, &c.	120,000	0	0			
	...	Ditto.	To U. States per way of Lake Champlain. ...	Sundries, about	30,000	0	0			
	...	Imps.	From England. .	Manuf. goods, L. 200,000				1,156,060	0	0
	...	...	.....	W. Ind. produce, 130,000	330,000	0	0			
	...	Ditto.	From U. States.	Merchandise, tea, provisions, tobacco, &c.....100,000						
	...	...	.....	Oak, pine timber, masts, &c.. 70,000						
	...	...	.....	Pot & pearl ashes 110,000						

Note L, p. 583.

The following list of exports will best illustrate the resources which Canada affords.

EXPORTS IN 1830.

PORT OF QUEBEC.

TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Cleared 571 vessels, 169,046 tons, 7460 men, eight of which built this year, 2635 tons.

Masts and bowsprits, ps.	252	Bees wax, cask 1 lb.	6,775
Spars, ps.	1,458	Oil cake, tons,	111
Oak timber, tons,	11,872	Castorum, casks,	1
Pine do. do.	115,777	Do. kegs,	2
Ash do. do.	1,514	Do. lbs.	145
Elm do. do.	7,698	Capillaire, do.	70
Birch, maple, &c. tons,	834	Essence spruce, cask,	1
Stan. staves and heading, ps.	1,133,473	Do. box,	1
Pipe and pun. do,	1,809,426	Ind. curiosities, boxes,	6
Barrel do. ps.	21,625	Esquimaux boots, par.	1
Stave ends, ps.	19,293	Snuff-boxes, box,	1
Deal, 3 inch, ps.	829,525	Bark work, boxes,	6
Boards and planks, ps.	79,325	Stuffed birds, do.	6
Deal ends, ps.	43,006	Horses,	1
Battens, ps.	41,856	Maple sugar, boxes,	1
Batten ends, ps.	335	Deer horns, do.	7
Oars, ps.	9,937	Do. casks,	8
Handspikes, ps.	19,781	Do. case,	1
Lathwood, cords,	801	Ovens,	1
Firewood, cords,	6	Hams and bacon, box,	1
Shooks, packs,	120	Live eagles,	2
Treenails, ps.	2,000	Bones, puns.	3
Boathook poles, ps.	120	Do. hhds.	3
Shingles, ps.	3,000	Do. tierces,	4
Spruce knees, ps.	24	Salted hides,	83
Pot ashes, cwt.	121,075 1 25	Feathers, bale,	1
Pearl ashes, cwt.	48,104 3 18	Leaf tobacco, hhds.	15
Apples, bbls.	574	Do. and cwt. 42 qr. 1 lb.	12
Flour, bbls.	35,836	Cranberries, bbls.	17
Oatmeal, bbls.	256	Do. kegs,	15
Wheat, minots,	590,081	Honey, casks,	7
Pease, minots,	15,273	Do. kegs,	2
Oats, minots,	13,285	Goose wings, bale,	1
Flax seed, minots,	895	Do. bbl.	1

Goosewings, keg,	1
Canoes,	2
Minerals, boxes,	3
Trees & plants, boxes,	17
Balsam, kegs,	22
Cider, gals.	30
Sleighs,	1
Hickory nuts, bbls.	2
Onions, bbls.	3
Salmon, tierces,	270
Do. bbls.	122
Fish oil, gals.	8,094
Seal skins, puns.	10
Do. hhds.	2
Do. bale,	1
Tomb-stone,	1

Furs and Peltries.

Bear skins,	533
Martin do.	13,162
Minx do.	2,800
Cat do.	30
Beaver do.	10,650
Buffalo do.	27
Fox do.	1,669
Otter do.	1,538
Musk rat do.	34,403
Lynx do.	430
Fisher skins,	100
Racoon do.	141
Wolf do.	13
Wolverine do.	5
Deer do.	1,228
Beaver do. lbs.	32
Fisher tails,	163
Racoon do.	40
Fox do.	60
Martin do.	440

Imported Goods Exported.

Mahogany, ps.	17
Do. feet,	4,100
Brass guns,	2
Deton. alarms, case,	1
Cooking stove,	1
Quills, case,	1
Steel, do.	1
Do. bundles,	24
Iron kettles,	1
Blacking, bbls.	110
Merchandise, packages,	6
Wine, gals.	171
Anchovies, bbls.	9
Lime juice, cask,	1
Nutmegs, cask,	1

IRELAND.

Vessels cleared, 214; tons, 57,233; men, 2,536; two built this year, tons 548.

Masts and bowsprit, ps.	2
Spars, ps.	689
Oak timber, tons,	1,249
Pine do. do.	39,935
Ash do. do.	907
Elm do. do.	578
Birch, maple, &c. tons,	417
Stan. staves and heading, ps.	491,250
Pipe and pun. do. ps.	573,199
Barrel do. ps.	275,021
Firkin do. ps.	1,000
Stave ends, ps.	12,884
Deal, 3 inch, ps.	673,915
Boards and planks, ps.	38,072
Deal ends, ps.	13,285
Battens, ps.	16,786
Batten ends, ps.	1,311
Oars, ps.	1,353
Handspikes, ps.	2,022
Lathwood, cords,	343
Shooks, packs,	35
Pot ashes, cwt.	13,431 2 0
Pearl do. do.	2,766 2 0

Pease, minots,	500	Deer horns, box,	1
Apples, bbls.	39	Cigars, do.	1
Trees, cases,	2	Minerals, do.	1
Canoes,	1		

JERSEY.

Vessel, 1; tons, 113; men, 7.

Stan. staves and heading, ps.	9,486	Handspikes, ps.	36
		Oars, ps.	72

GIBRALTAR.

Vessels, 2; tons, 226; men, 14.

Oak timber, tons,	3	Boards and planks, ps.	500
Birch do. do.	5	Deer horns, ps.	7,653
Stan. staves and heading, ps.	10,773	Artichokes, case,	1
Pipe and pun. do. ps.	1,200	Tomato sauce, case,	1

SPAIN.

Vessel, 1; tons, 105; men, 7.

Oak timber, tons,	54	Pipe and pun. staves,	770
Pine do. ps.	3	Deals, 3 inch, ps.	54
Elm do. ps.	1	Boards and planks. ps.	512
Stan. staves and heading, ps.	230	Battens,	497

PORTUGAL.

Vessel, 1; tons, 146; men, 7.

Standard staves and heading pieces, 16,778.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.

Vessels, 130; tons, 9,153; men, 575.

Bowsprits, ps.	1	Hogshead do. ps.	100
Spars, ps.	12	Barrel do. ps.	2,739
Oak timber, tons,	25	Empty barrels,	290
Pine do. do.	12	Boards and planks, ps.	2,396
Pipe and pun. staves, and heading, ps.	25,079	Oars, ps.	21
		Handspikes, ps.	89
Barrel do. ps.	4,320	Wood hoops,	17,650
Staves, packs,	131	Pearl ashes, cwt.	45 2 11
Drum staves, ps.	240,208	Flour, bbls.	24,549
Puncheon shooks, ps.	3,554	Do half bbls.	103

Flour, bags,	136
Oatmeal, bbls.	10
Pork, bbls.	6,743
Do. half bbls.	289
Indian meal, puns.	50
Do. bbls.	1,072
Do. half bbls.	1
Beef, bbls.	2,517
Do. half bbls.	480
Hams, rounds, &c. lbs.	2,828
Rye, bbls.	40
Bran, do.	5
Oats, bushels,	18,630
Wheat, minots,	20
Pease and beans, do.	1,420
Barley, minots,	3,345
Potatoes, do.	240
Malt, do.	1,102
Hops, bags,	25
Acorns, do.	3
Apples, bbls.	260
Onions, do.	264
Linseed oil, gals.	654
Oil cake, tons,	48
Do. cwt.	9
Biscuit, do.	7,121
Crackers, lbs.	4,042
Lard, do.	26,599
Candles, do.	62,285
Do. boxes,	31
Soap, lbs.	81,367
Butter, do.	140,710
Cheese, do.	6,751
Pearl barley, cwt.	5½
Tobacco, lbs.	17,051
Snuff, do.	1,683
Cigars, boxes,	27
Do. lbs.	40
Ale and beer, gals.	2,469
Cider, do.	161
Do. dozens,	48
Peppermint, gals.	199
Vinegar, hhds.	3
Do. keg,	1
Tongues, kegs,	2
Fur caps & mitts, packs.	26
Leather, packs.	127
Hides,	10
Stoves and pipes,	240
Merchandise, packages,	44

Imported Goods.

Iron, tons,	10¼
Chain cables,	2
Iron hoops, packages,	60
Shot, do.	55
Gunpowder, do.	42
Guns,	18
Paint, packages,	1,939
Blue, bbls.	10
Canvas, bales,	20
Do. bolts,	12
Window-glass, boxes,	132
Glass ware, casks,	8
Ale and beer, dozens,	49
Wine, gals.	1,114
Gin, do.	379
Brandy, do.	403
Olive oil, casks,	9
Do. boxes,	51
Do. half chests,	35
Almonds, packages,	10
Nuts, do.	20
Raisins, do.	579
Vermicelli, boxes,	23
Maccaroni, do.	17
Figs, packages,	130
Plums, package,	1
Currants, packages,	2
Pickles, do.	31
Rum, gals.	1,739
Shrub, do.	99
Molasses, do.	1,038
Muscovado sugar, cwt.	27
Ginger, lbs.	64
Tea, chests,	511
Rice, lbs.	1,517
Honey, do.	112
Tar, bbls.	8
Pitch, bbl.	1
Salt, minots,	2,606
Merchandise, packages,	258

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

Vessels, 57; tons, 8,113; men, 453; built this year, 3; tons, 424.

Spars, pieces,	6	Butter, do.	10,759
Oak timber, tons,	10	Cheese, do.	421
Staves and heading, ps.	1,715,511	Soap, do.	2,033
Boards and planks, do.	20,223	Candles, do.	593
Staves, packs.	1,874	Apples, bbls.	128
Oars, pieces,	454	Onions, do.	371
Handspikes, do.	252	Tobacco, lbs.	1,410
Wood hoops, do.	128,710	Snuff, do.	200
Shingles, do.	53,040	Pearl ashes, half bbl.	1
Laths, do.	2,250	Maple sugar, case,	1
Boats,	6	Butter nuts, bbls.	27
Chairs, dozens,	3	Do. kegs,	20
Flour, bbls.	11,254	Do. minots,	18
Do. half bbls.	117	Essence spruce, cases,	3
Indian meal, do.	870	Pickles, kegs,	28
Do. puns.	3	Spirits turpentine, casks,	14
Oatmeal, bbls	2	Horses,	125
Pork, bbls.	4,454	Sheep,	50
Do. half bbls.	885	Hogs,	3
Beef, bbls.	1,606	Merchandise, packages,	5
Do. half bbls.	1,574	Cod fish, cwt.	11,922
Do. tubs,	12	Salmon, tierces,	82
Hams and rounds, lbs.	27,345	Do. bbls.	122
Tongues, half bbls.	16	Do. half bbls.	19
Do. kegs,	277	Do. boxes,	5
Do. lbs.	1,856	Do. kitts,	70
Mutton, bbls.	1	Herrings, bbls.	366
Do. half bbls.	15	Do. boxes,	122
Sausages, kegs,	24	Mackerel, bbls.	642
Oil cake, tons,	49	Do. half bbls.	7
Ale and beer, gals.	20,491	Alewives, bbls.	6
Cider, dozens,	567	Trout, do.	4
Raspberry vin. casks,	4	Cod sounds, kegs,	7
Do. boxes,	6	Fish oil, gals.	5,326
Cherry brandy, casks,	10		
Do. boxes,	6	*Imported Goods.*	
Barley, minots,	284	Rice, lbs.	26,490
Pease, do.	557	Leaf tobacco, lbs.	17,366
Oats, do.	3,651	Plug do. do.	173
Potatoes, do.	131	Spirits turpentine, bbls.	4
Biscuit, cwt.	322	Tar, do.	20
Crackers, lbs.	2,489	Pitch, do.	10
Lard, do.	4,826	Soap, lbs.	4,770

Candles, lbs.	2,800	Grapes, jars,	14
Cheese, do.	347	Anchovies, kegs,	9
Salad oil, hhds.	22	Tea, chests,	2
Do. cases,	43	Wine, gals.	10,693
Castile soap, lbs.	222	Brandy, do.	620
Raisins, packages,	110	Merchandise, packages,	41

UNITED STATES.

Vessels with cargoes,	2;	tons, 177; men, 9
Do. in ballast,	2;	do. 255; do. 11
	4	432 20

Grindstones,	1,192	Bottles, gross,	234
Junk, tons,	2½	Lard, lbs.	6,900
Salmon, bbls.	4	Hops, bales,	23

FROM GASPÈ.

Vessels, 43; tons, 6,711; men, 351.

Pine timber, tons,	557	Cod fish, bbls.	171
Birch, do.	17	Do. kegs,	48
Maple, do.	3	Do. cwt.	35,216
Spars, pieces,	61	Salmon, bbls.	6
Deals & deal ends, do.	57,848	Fish oil, tons,	12
Staves and heading, do.	31,689	Do. gals.	3,793
Lathwood, cords,	24	Flour, bbls.	2
Shooks, bundles,	600	Old copper, lbs.	380
Knees, pieces,	30		

FROM NEW CARLISLE.

Vessels, 30; tons, 5,170; men, 289.

Pine timber, tons,	4,534	Pork, bbls.	15
Birch, do.	172	Flour, do.	226
Spars, pieces,	184	Indian meal, do.	8
Deals, do.	164	Pease, do.	19
Oars, do.	30	Oats, do.	3
Lathwood, cords,	148	Butter, lbs.	800
Cod fish, cwt.	20,034	Tobacco, do.	1000
Cod sounds, kegs,	47	Snuff, do.	150
Salmon, bbls.	4	Furs, casks,	1
Mackerel, bbls.	2	Old copper, lbs.	232
Herrings, do.	7	Salt, hhds.	110
Fish oil, gals.	3,368	Tea, lbs.	924
Beef, bbls.	30	Merchandise, packages,	3

To give some idea of the amount of the St Lawrence trade with the United States, I copy some of the items in the list of American articles imported into the port of Montreal: 3,220 barrels pork; 317 firkins and kegs butter; 6,455 barrels pot and pearl ashes; 10,633 ditto flour; 1,080 ditto corn meal; 335 puncheons ditto; 103 barrels wheat; 4,133 bushels ditto in bulk; 1,633 bushels corn; 826 ditto rye; 133 bags ditto; 101 bushels peas; 70 barrels apples; 55 barrels beef; 79 ditto lard; 548 kegs ditto; 2,987 live hogs; 390 dead ditto; 203 pieces pig iron; 64 deer skins. At the port of St John: 1,267 barrels ashes; 325 barrels pork; 1,239 barrels Indian meal; 147,000 pounds butter; 163,930 ditto cheese; 78,700 fresh cod-fish; 5,100 pounds mutton; 72,173 ditto tallow; 4,825 ditto lard; 7,018 ditto hams; 57,961 ditto rice; 139,109 ditto leaf tobacco; 356,339 manufactured ditto; 245,659 cigars; 24,707 pounds hops; 121,600 ditto sole leather; 13,167 bushels apples; 4,528 head cattle; 6,582 living hogs; 6,762 sheep; 2,395 gallons sperm oil; 8,018 buffalo skins; 2,632 raw hides; 7,031 dressed peltries; 8,000 pieces lumber. At the port of Coteau du Lac, 10,494 barrels flour; 6,043 ditto ashes; 3,130 ditto pork; 6,809 bushels wheat.

The imports into the northern colonies from the United States were subject to certain duties fixed by the act of 6th Geo. IV. These duties were repealed, as far as respected American productions being imported into the northern colonies, and transhipping them to the West Indies, by a short act passed on the 22d April, 1831, which enacts, "that from and after the 15th day of April, 1831, so much of the said acts as imposes *any duty in any of the British possessions in America*, upon the importation or bringing in of corn, or of grain unground, or of meal, or of flour not made of wheat, or of bread, or biscuit, or of rice, or of live stock, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed.

"That so much of any of the said acts as imposes any duty in the provinces of *Upper* or *Lower* Canada, upon the importation or bringing in of wheat flour, or of beef, pork, hams, or bacon, or of wood, or lumber, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed That so much of the said acts as imposes any duty in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, or Prince Edward Island, upon wood or lum-

ber, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed. That so much of the said acts as imposes any duty in the British possessions on the continent of South America, or in the West Indies, or in the Bahama or Bermuda islands, upon wheat flour, or upon beef, pork, hams, or bacon, or upon wood or lumber, when imported from any of the British possessions in North America, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed." Protecting additional duties of 11s. 3d. on staves imported by foreigners to the West Indies for three years, and of 7s. 3d. for three years further; and of 7s. per 1000 feet of one inch thick pine lumber for the first three, and of five for the following three years, are imposed by the same act.

The imports of British manufactures into the colonies during the year ending the first of November 1831, have exceeded the foregoing statements about 10 per cent.

56,000 emigrants have also arrived in the North American colonies during the summer and autumn of 1831.

The New Brunswick Company lately established at Liverpool is likely to afford great facilities to those who may emigrate to that province; to the government of which, Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, G.C.B., has lately been appointed.

The administration of this distinguished officer is likely, from the accounts I have received from Fredericton and St John since his arrival, to give great satisfaction to the inhabitants, and to promote the prosperity of the province.

THE END.

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